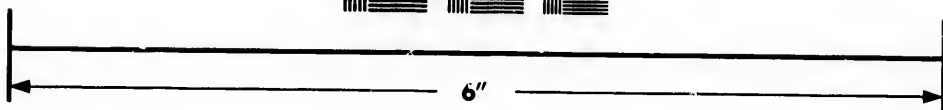
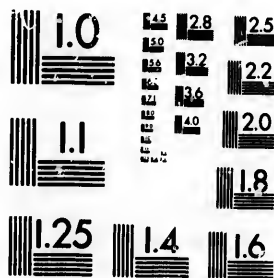


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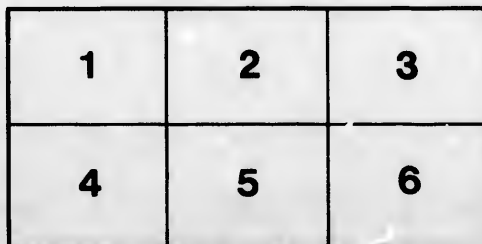
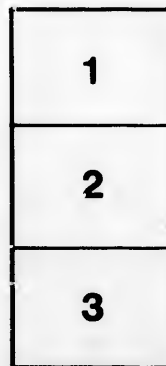
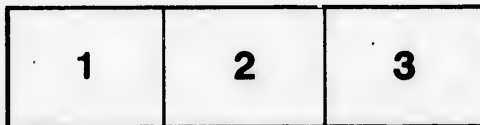
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BY ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE,

"One who has whistled at the Plough,"

AUTHOR OF WORKS IN BRITAIN ON POLITICAL ECONOMY, MILITARY STRATEGY, AND CONSERVATIVE SCIENCE OF NATIONS.

HAMILTON, CANADA WEST:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY DONNELLEY & LAWSON, KING STREET, AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1862.

SOMERVILLE'S DILIGENT LIFE.

The Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, Secretary of State for War, said in the House of Commons, February, 1860:—"Somerville was a man of great ability and talent. He wrote remarkably well, and in after life raised himself to a good social position." That remark had reference to military and political events, in which the writer of this autobiography became the agent, who under Heaven, saved the British empire from a disastrous revolution; or, at least, from a convulsion the extremities of which human sagacity could not then estimate. May, 1832. The secret conspiracies of that perilous month, and in subsequent years of trouble, were counteracted by Alexander Somerville through influence obtained over the leading men of dangerous movements by his voluntary acceptance of punishment to save others, and a stern adherence to personal integrity and honour.

"This is a remarkable book written by a remarkable man."—*Quebec Chronicle*.

"One of the most fascinating books, by one of the most vigorous writers, which has been published in our day."—*Brantford Herald*.

"If we did not know the earnest nature and untiring zeal of the man, many of the statements in this remarkable book might be set down as the figments of a diseased mind. But truth, unsullied truth we know to be, as it has ever been, the rule and guide of Mr. Somerville."—*G. P. Ure; Montreal Family Herald*.

"Mr. Somerville in later years fell into pecuniary difficulties through an unfortunate co-partnership in publishing. He came to Canada in 1858, and on the 29th of May, 1859, his wife died at Quebec, on the anniversary, by a singular coincidence, of the day on which he was flogged so many years before; and so alone, with six young children dependent on him, the care-worn literator who has laboured so long in the good cause of uniting classes and quieting class-hatreds that all might have justice—neglected by those in whose cause he battled in Britain, sets to work among us here to earn by his pen his daily bread."—*Montreal Gazette*, June 8, 1860. [From a lengthened review written by one of the editors with whom the author had no previous acquaintance.]

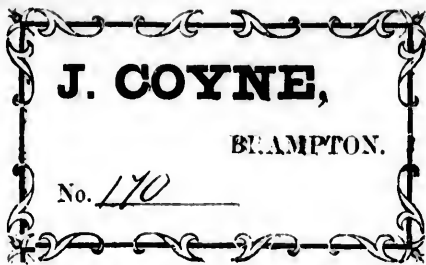
"I know nothing in our language which for graphic narrative and picturesque description of men and things surpasses some of the Letters of 'One who has Whistled at the Plough.'"—Richard Cobden, M. P.

"Mr. Somerville, I should be wanting in every feeling of justice were I to hesitate in bearing my unqualified testimony to your brave, zealous, useful, and exemplary conduct while serving in the Auxiliary Legion under my orders in Spain. The position you filled was in that service no sinecure. The reports respecting your conduct and character were uniformly to your credit and honour."—General Sir De Lacy Evans, G. C. B. and M. P.

Mr. Somerville refers to the work itself for an account of what he did for others in preference to himself, in his years of vigour and enthusiasm. He offers this book of His Diligent Life for sale, hoping to raise a fund—though humble it must be—by which to provide for his young children, while he proceeds to Britain for a few months to publish the *Progress of Canada* and *Family Annals of the Frontiers*, and to recover some remnants of fortune from the wreck of previous literary labours.

The price of the book is one dollar.

Mr. Lovell, Printer and Publisher, Montreal.



TRAVELS IN CANADA

AND THE

FRONTIER UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

The Canada Frontier.—Canada a Battlefield.—What would that be like?—A mass levy of the adult male population a possible necessity; Under what circumstances?

ON the margin of Chicago river, ten miles from the city of that name, in the State of Illinois, you may walk and meditate on the destiny of British America as appropriately as anywhere between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. There your theme takes the form of dark and stern facts, whose shadows are even now flitting across the boundary line of Canada and the United States.

At the distance of a rifle shot from Chicago stream, you are on River Desplane, a tributary of the Illinois. The Illinois assists to carry Northern navigation to the Mississippi, and along that grandly flowing river to the Gulf of Mexico, distant from where we stand, two thousand miles South-west.

But Desplane river, when in high flood gives its surplus water to the Chicago, and small boats pass between them. The Chicago, descending about twelve feet in ten miles, surrenders its own flood and its neighbour's surplus to Lake Michigan, from whence they flow to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, two thousand miles East.

Between Lake Michigan and the navigable Illinois, there is now a Canal ninety miles long. The Committee of Congress on "Lake and River Defences," have urged in their Report, February 1862, that the Canal should be enlarged to the dimensions of a capacious ship channel. The industrial advancement of the North-west is an advantage to Canada. But in connection with naval yards and arsenals for the building and arming of forts and batteries, on land and afloat, at Chicago and other places on the lakes; the treaty with Britain which limits the armed vessels on Superior, Huron, Erie, Ontario and Champlain, containing nothing to prevent any number of gun-boats or iron-raus-of-war, from being built on Lake Michigan, as that lake is entirely within United States Territory; the shores of which were deserts when the treaty was made in 1817, but are now populous States with over five millions of inhabitants; in connection with those stern facts, and this other, that the Straits of Makinaw, entrances from Michigan to Lake Huron, are to be fortified to the strength of a "Gibraltar of the Lakes," (Congress Report, 1862); and this other fact, that the British are not to launch vessels of war on Georgian Bay, nor on any of the lakes until after a notice of six months, that bay being a part of Lake Huron; and still this other, that Detroit river, leading from Huron to Lake Erie, is commanded by Fort Gratiot and Fort Wayne, and may be closed against Canada and Britain by other forts on the river banks and islands belonging to the United States. Laying those stern truths and possibilities together we see dark shadows fitting across the boundary line of Canada and the United States which demand instant and serious consideration. The Ship Canal from Illinois river to Michigan lake, say the committee, and they print their words in letters which indicate emphasis: "Is the most important for either military or commercial purposes, yet suggested on this continent."

The rivers which fill Michigan issue through the Straits of Michilimackinac, now called Makinaw, and on the bosom of Lake Huron, unite with the greater volume descending from Superior. These are three inland seas with sinuous lines of shore, abrupt headlands, deep bays and navigable tributaries, equal to six thousand miles. Then flowing ninety miles by St. Clair lake and Detroit river, the great volume fills Lake Erie.

Erie and Ontario are connected by the torrent of Niagara, and in navigation by the Welland Canal, thirty miles in length. It has twenty-seven locks, admitting vessels 142 feet long by 26 feet beam, and 10 feet draught. It surmounts a rise of 350 feet; is 564 feet above sea level at

Lake Erie, and about 1000 miles distant from the sea by direct line. The locks are smaller than those of the St. Lawrence Canals. On the several sections of Rapids between Prescott and Montreal, the Lachine and St. Lawrence Canals admit vessels 184 feet long, 44½ feet beam, nine feet draught. But all craft passing from Montreal to Lake Erie, are limited to the size of the Welland locks.

By the treaty of 1817, armed vessels on the lakes are limited thus, to the service of revenue collection :

“The naval force to be maintained upon the American lakes by His Majesty and the United States, shall henceforth be confined to the following vessels on each side, that is : On Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding one hundred tons burden, and armed with one eighteen-pound cannon. On the waters of Lake Champlain to one vessel not exceeding like burden, and armed with like force. On the upper lakes to two vessels not exceeding like burden and armed with like force.

“All other armed vessels on these lakes shall be forthwith dismantled, and no other vessels of war shall be built.

“If either party should hereafter be desirous of annulling this stipulation and should give notice to that effect to the other party, it shall cease to be binding after the expiration of six months from the date of that notice.”

The Rideau Canal, to connect Ontario lake at Kingston, with Ottawa river, and the navigation from Montreal, at a point where now stands the city of Ottawa, was begun in 1826, and completed in 1832 sufficiently for a steamboat to pass the whole length. The cost, borne by the Imperial Government, was £772,000 sterling, or \$3,860,000. It overcomes 293 feet of rise, and extends 126½ miles. The locks are 134 feet long, 33 feet wide, with five feet of water. The United States at first viewed the construction of that military canal unfavourably, on the supposition that Britain might bring from the Ottawa river small vessels of war, ready at any time to float on Lake Ontario ; that in fact, the provisional notice of six months would be practically a declaration of war. Taking that view of a future contingency, the States look now to their own rivers issuing into the lakes, as ports for military and naval armament, quite permissible as such under the treaty which allowed Britain to construct the Rideau Canal and fortify its termination on the North-eastern shore of Lake Ontario.

The cities which have arisen on the American shores of the lakes Southward and North-west of the head of Niagara, since the construction of the Rideau Canal in central Canada, have reversed the order of strategical balances.

Of Lake Champlain, we may only now remark, that its outflowing waters and its canal connect the States of New York and Vermont with the St. Lawrence, and with Montreal, the city which is commercially and financially foremost in Canada. At the beginning of March, 1862, the New York State Assembly, was reported thus :

Gunboats : Lake Champlain.—On Friday Mr. Taylor offered a resolution instructing the State Engineer to examine the Champlain Canal, with a view to its enlargement, so as to allow the passage of gunboats through Lake Champlain."

In Canada that paragraph was circulated, with the heading "What does it mean?" by the same journals which had for twelve months previously endangered the peace of the Province by sharpening antipathies and estranging international friendship. The paragraph means, in its gentlest sense, that Canada has a near neighbour who is angry, and who may cause a large expenditure of money on our frontier defences, to be an immediate and permanent necessity. In its severest sense, it means that Canada may be invaded, and devastated, though never to be conquered. That last consequence is not to be admitted even hypothetically—never.

The Committee of Congress remark that the application of the treaty to Lake Michigan, which limits the arming of vessels, may be doubted. The doubt is now a matter of no consequence to Canada. The right and the ability of the United States to fortify the entrances of their own river harbours, and build flotillas and rams-of-war, within those gates of "no admittance except on business" is a matter of political fact, lying on the broad daylight, beyond all doubt. And that being so, what if they do not confine their armaments within the river harbours, but spread them over Michigan lake to the gates of the "Gibraltar of the West," to lie in wait there, ready at the first whisper of a declaration of war, flashed by telegraphic lightning from Washington. Then, without other warning, to scour Lake Huron, Georgian Bay, Detroit river and Erie lake as far as Niagara.

On the Canada frontier, the travelling author of this work estimates about three thousand miles of cultivated farms, villages and towns, as open to invasion, besides some hundreds of miles—a thousand perhaps—of wild land equally exposed, and offering strategical positions, but not so likely to be invaded, should the enemy be in quest of good estate and furnished dwellings for permanent occupation.

We have first two thousand miles, including the bays and bends of the larger lakes and rivers. When following "bee lines" on the land of milk and honey, that measurement does not touch the frontages of sharp angles, islands, creeks, inland harbours, and smaller rivers; nor settlements on the adjoining roadways where industry has reared a hundred thousand homes of happy contentment. The agricultural and commercial frontier of Canada now holding friendly intercourse with the United States, should, for our present purpose be measured not by the flight of bees laden with honey, but by the estimated range of rifle bullets and of bomb shells, carrying with them the crack of doom. The cultured frontier will then include the inhabited islands in the St. Lawrence and the lakes, now within the boundary line of Canada; the navigable creeks and narrow inlets, whether deep enough to admit the larger vessels of war or flotillas of smaller gunboats. Also, frontages on the transverse roads which may lie within reach of surprise by hurried night-marches from navigable waters.

Taking both shores of the Lower St. Lawrence, where the stranger admires the long white rows and groups of habitations, and churches with sparkling spires, standing in front of the forests of dark green—the rows several hundred miles in length; then going round that frontier in Lower Canada, known as the Eastern Townships. From thence to the exposed, or accessible settlements of Upper Canada, now cultivated by peaceful husbandmen, who, with wives, daughters, bold young sons, and crowing babies in arms, enjoy the happy belief that they sit under their orchards where none dare make them afraid, we see on navigable water or inland roads, a frontage open to attack, equal to at least three thousand miles.

New complications may occur between Britain and France, as well as between Canada and America. A recurrence of excitement about French invasion may any day arise with still deeper perplexities than at any time before. The Legislative Chamber at Paris has just been told by a noble member, a legitimist, not a Napoleonist, and so much the worse, that the thirteen hundred millions of francs, spent on the Crimean war, would have

carried the French army to London. The British uneasiness of 1858 ripened public sentiment in favour of an auxiliary army of volunteers. Other "tyrannicide" pamphlets, as atrocious as that of 1858, may issue from London and inflame France. Again, the "French Colonels" may demand permission of the Emperor, as in that year, to "hunt conspirators in their London dens." And complications with France may recur on one hand, with American difficulties on the other; the latter not improbable, in connection with the lunatic project of a North-American Monarchy. [*See chapter II.*]

In that hypothesis of complex difficulties, the Engineers and Guards, the Royal Artillery and regiments of the British Line, grandly efficient in quality, but inadequate in number even now, may be re-called to save the venerated soil of Britain from the track of invasion. But should they remain, as pray Heaven, they may have no cause to go away nor any employment here; a mass levy of the male population will be an instant necessity in the event of war. The mass levy will be only a mob, yet indispensable, as a source from whence to draft selected levies, and to form working brigades to construct defences; to build Forts, for instance, beyond Toronto on the Yorkville side, and on the heights above Hamilton city, should Huron Lake and Georgian Bay be occupied by gunboats and floating batteries from the arsenals at Chicago, and Green Bay; and Erie Lake, from docks and arsenals at Toledo and Buffalo. The sooner those Forts are raised after the enemy is at Georgian Bay, at Suspension Bridge, at Port Dover, Port Colborne and Port Dalhousie, the sounder may Toronto and Hamilton sleep in bed, if they can sleep at all.

THE DREADED DAY; LOOK IT IN THE FACE.

Concentrated on one point, or distributed to distant places in obedience to the exigencies of strategy, the rural aggregations of the mass levy, and the rural regiments of militia, while defending towns and cities from hostile occupation and ravage, may be told of their own undefended homesteads laid in ashes; barns plundered and pastures cleared of cattle; women and children fleeing to the wilderness distracted, or dying on the cinders of the homes, in which they live happily this day, believing that none dare make them afraid.

And those aggregations of militia and volunteers, and the mass levy, in this newspaper-made war, may be told of such atrocities, when

absent from home, or may see them after the occurrence. If they do, the fiercest spirits in Canada, not few in number, will volunteer with all the vehemence of revenge; or they may, in desperate frenzy, form expeditions on their own account, to make reprisal on the towns and country opposite. Offended humanity there, which is now as innocent of political feuds or of evil intention to Canada, as any non-political farmer and his wife and baby on this side, will in turn cry for a reciprocity of vengeance. Patriotism on that side will be crime on this: the patriotism of Canada will be crime beyond the frontier. They who are least successful in devastation and in victory, will, on their last days, pray to have a due sense of sin, and better success. The side which enjoys the highest satisfaction for defeats avoided, and battles won, will proclaim a day for Thanksgiving and sky-rockets. And what wonder if Eternal Justice should leave them all to the consummation of their own wrath? The only warrant for hope, that they may not be utterly forsaken of merciful Heaven, rests on this; that they who are exposed the most to suffer such calamities are the least guilty in provoking war.

FOUR THOUSAND MILES OF WAR-TRACK.

On the frontier homes of Canada, three thousand miles of war-track. One thousand miles open to attack on the frontier of the States. On the one side and the other, four thousand miles of war, among cities, towns, hamlets, homesteads; tracks of plunder in the mansions of the wealthy; houses of the poor; iron safes of the merchants; strong vaults of the banks. Tracks of battle and of marching armies on fields of summer greenness; on harvests of ripe wheat. Tracks of blood on four thousand miles of death-bed snow.

War-tracks of wreck, vessels and canals all a wreck, on lake, river and canal navigation. Mutual destruction along the frontier lines of railway, American and Canadian—populated Canada nearly all a frontier as yet.

Locomotive engines, offspring of genius more godlike than human, now carrying civilization through the primeval forests, dispensing the elements of social happiness as they go, these, compelled to be their own executioners. They crash their ponderous heads together; or, with no stoker, no driver, no conductor, they fly onward, fast and faster, and burst into a thousand fragments. The world groans.

The wheels of Human Progress are reversed. Viaducts broken down on this side the frontier and on that. Flying bridges of international amity now spanning the torrent at Niagara; or leviathens of the ferries, breasting the rivers in calm or storm or floods of crashing ice, at Sarnia,

Windsor, Erie Ferry, Kingston, Prescott, and other passages of friendly traffic and social courtesies—all a wreck. And noblest victory of science, the monumental bridge at Montreal, each of its four-and-twenty pillars a monument, that overthrown; or besieged and defended as a bulwark of the fair city which, with good reason, dreads to be captured.

Barrenness on the fields; emptiness in the granaries of Canada; much of the soil untilled, little sown; husbandmen in the war; wives and families scattered; and a pitiful harvest to reap. The peopled country being nearly all frontier, in Upper Canada, the farmers in those days, or months, or years, happily all a hypothesis as yet, are defending not ploughing. They march to the battle which was expected yesterday; or counter-march to that which is expected to-day; or they are harrassed by sleepless nights on picket and forced marches to meet a fresh invasion expected next week, or next month, yet which may come this night. Canada *clems* with hunger while her enemy is abundantly supplied from the interior of the Union and the prolific North-western States.

Granaries which supplemented deficient harvests in Britain and France are now devastated or blockaded on the seaboard. Britain is in peril of domestic convulsion for want of a sufficiency of food and material for manufactures and external commerce; Continental Europe sharing the disorder. Austria, weakened by revolted provinces is strength to France. France, stronger, is nearer danger to the English coast, and that is now weakness and greater peril to Canada. Our regular troops, as already said, may be called suddenly home. The gun-boats expected may never come. France scorns neutrality and blockades, most probably. Her steam rams-of-war make grim fraternity with the iron rams of America, possibly. The commerce of two oceans and of all the seas and gulfs is plundered, burned, or sunk by privateers. Electric telegraphs, "Our own correspondents" and unofficial army reports, by facilitating wreck and ruin, and keeping enemies well informed are curses, no longer utilities. The fire-brand, or revolutionary section of the Canada Press, happily a very small and misguided minority of the whole, which in mockery of common sense retains the name of "conservative," or "moderate," yet has outraged moderation, and put rational conservatism to shame by spreading along and across the peaceful frontier the elements of discord and convulsion—takes its turn of "sentry go" on dark and stormy nights, in sleet, or snow, or ruin, or sultry summer heat; the Provost Marshal keeping the office, types and ink. And "Special Correspondents,"

sent from England, are considerably abridged of the liberty which they used so indiscreetly in the United States, while lawful authority there struggled in all the majesty of national conservatism to suppress a rebellion less excusable than any ever known in the history of the world. And so the war of invasion, which in the incongruities of party servitude the "moderate" newspapers of Canada have done so much to realize as a fact of horrible proportions, goes on; the roar of ocean storms deafened by the roar of naval battles; Great Britain with hands full, yet grand even in that day of extremity, while Canada sweeps up the ashes of her homesteads and wipes her widowed eyes.

Such may that war be which political lunacy, less or more apparent on both sides the boundary line, is now hastening to a hideous birth. Why are two nations of kindred race and language preparing for the world this great agony? The event advances to its fullness of time primarily and chiefly, because they are of kindred race and language.

To describe the cities, towns, hamlets, and happy homesteads on both sides of the Boundary Line; the social and commercial intercourse of the two countries. To depict, as far as an uninspired pen may, their measureless resources of natural wealth—all pleading for peace. To forshadow as far as a non-prophetic writer may presume, the nature of the differences from which they may drift into a conflict of mutual devastation. To illustrate the practical elements of military discipline and strength by reference to changed circumstances of social and political life in new communities. To relate incidents of British campaigns, victories, defeats, retreats, army panics, and the difficulties of the greatest generals in all wars, as a study indispensable in Canada, where the new militia of 1862—fifty thousand undisciplined men not yet obtained, are proposed to do what three hundred thousand veteran troops continuously in the field, might fail to do—defend Canada against half a million of men already trained, or being trained, to arms, should such a host be directed at once against all accessible landing places on her vastly extended frontier.

To ask by the logic of political affinities, that all loyal subjects who can appreciate the freedom and stability of Britain, should extend a lively sympathy to the United States, now struggling in the majesty of a grand conservatism to consolidate civil and religious liberty with an enduring nationality; a result, which only Britain, of all other nations in the world, has practically achieved. To treat of those things; to con-

tribute to the safety of Canada, and like a drop added to the mighty St. Lawrence, river of the life of North America, to contribute my driblet to the well-being of the British empire, and to the happiness of peaceful nations. That is the object of the work now in the reader's hand.

CHAPTER II.

Is Canada a rival for dominion? or likely to be the "Nucleus of an overshadowing Empire?"—London Times says that is so; and imperils the peace and political existence of Canada.—"Moderate" newspapers in the Province embitter international friendship.—Mr. Secretary Seward on the Conspiracy against the Union, February, 1862. Courteous Welcome to the Prince of Wales and Suite at Detroit, September, 1860.—The Courtesy changed to bitterness and anger by Proposals sent from Canada to seduce eminent persons from their loyalty to the United States.—The Proposals of Treason submitted to the Mayor at Detroit, October, 1860.—With other documents, they are held as Secrets, at Washington, until occasion serves to use them against Canada.—Who are the persons of "position and influence at Quebec," who periled the peace of Canada by those Proposals of Treason?—Mr. Seward, candidate for the Presidency, in November, 1860, learns the proposals of treason against the Union.—His prophecy about the Annexation of Canada.—This Province affronted.—President Lincoln and Cabinet surrounded by traitors on taking office in March, 1861.—They send Secret Agents to Canada in April, 1861.—Conversation of Mr. Seward, who knew of the conspiracy in Canada, with Lord Lyons who did not, in that month.—The conversation reported to the British Government.—Southern Agents in Canada, 1862.—A word in behalf of non-political Refugees.—Committee of Congress on Lake and River Defences; their remarks on friendly relations with Canada, and conspiracy to betray the Union.—Mr. Seward's friendly description of Canada in 1857.—Reasons why this Province cannot desire to be separated from Britain.—Reasons why the Queen, Government, and People of Great Britain, cannot be parties to aggression against the United States.—Reasons why the Government of Canada cannot be in conspiracy against the States.

Let us work for a brief space on this cross problem: Do the United States threaten to annex Canada? Does Canada offer to annex the North-western States? The following citations are numbered for reference.

I.—The *Times*, English newspaper, January 21, 1862, letter of "our own correspondent," dated Montreal, January 5:

"The great problem which the Northern and Eastern States have to solve is, not how to bring back the South into the Union, for there are few who believe that to be possible, *but how to prevent the loss of the Western States also*; and this difficulty, *is the key to the attempts to provoke a collision with England, and to the extraordinary virulence against Canada.*"

Remark. While travelling along the frontiers of the two countries I have not met any American, if not an avowed Secessionist, and then only in Canada, who did not affirm with all the earnestness of faith that the loyal States will never lay down their arms until the rebellion is subdued. The writer in the *Times*, could only, like other travellers give his opinion; but published in that journal, it is no longer one man's rash surmise, but a world-wide assertion of fact. Such an assertion, thus circulated, could not fail to aggravate the irritation of the United States, and further imperil the peace of Canada. If the writer had no substantial authority for alleging that the North dreads the loss of the Western States, it was reckless in the extreme to publish his own idea, or the vagrant allegations of unknown rumourists, as things of truth; and politically an error, and morally wicked in the English editors to expose this Province to farther perils by giving the story currency throughout the world. But if the writer had reasonable grounds on which to found his assertion, it is indeed a grave matter for British America, and for Britain too.

II.—London *Times*, January 21, 1862:

"When the United States regarded Canada as a property to which it was the next heir, it viewed her growth in population, wealth and power, with complacent satisfaction. But when it recognizes, as it does now, that the expectation of the reversion was an idle dream, and that instead of being absorbed into the Union, Canada is a formidable rival for dominion, and likely to be the *nucleus* around which the shattered fragments of the Republic will eventually crystalize into a new and overshadowing Empire, it gnashes its teeth at those who have balked its destiny. So

the whole pack of Federal journals is in full cry after Canada and the Canadians, and the magnitude of the disappointment is shown by the virulence of the clamour."

Remark. This second assertion intensifies the first. If both be multiplied by two hundred, we may estimate the unhappiness prepared for the British empire by one only of the English newspapers in one year. Multiply by the number of other journals in Britain, happily a minority of the whole, and by the minority in British America, which have made international antipathies things of special culture, at the cost of friendly intercourse with the United States, and at the hazard of seeing beautiful Canada ravaged by war, and we may approximately count the arrows now ranking in the Body Public of the American nation.

III.—On 22d February, 1862, a letter from Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, was read to an assembly in New York, which contained this remarkable passage:

"Disloyal citizens have seized upon that great anniversary (of Washington's birth) to pervert it to a more complete organization of the conspiracy for the overthrow of the Union of which Washington was the founder, and for the betrayal of the people of the United States back to the foreign yoke, which the hand of Washington smote and broke."

Remark. That "conspiracy to betray," and the "foreign yoke which Washington smote and broke," can have reference only to Britain and Canada, and to persons who owe allegiance to the United States. A Toronto newspaper, which boils hot water for Canada on speculation to extract some millions sterling from Britain for Lake and River defences, pronounced Mr. Seward to be a "demagogue" for making that "groundless accusation," which "no other public man in America had presumed to make."

Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State, probably knew more secrets than other public men; or they, knowing the same facts or suspicions may not have deemed an allusion to them prudent. If he had no ground for writing as he did, which is a supposition wholly inadmissible, his words might be forced to bear the construction with which they have been burdened on this side the frontier, namely, that he seeks without excuse to provoke a rupture with Britain and Canada. But what, in view of that reading of his words, comes of the Montreal Correspondent's promulgation that "*Canada*

is a formidable rival for dominion?" Let us inquire again, is that only the expression of an impulsive writer whose imprudences inspired at Quebec, have united with the indiscretions of Mr. W. H. Russell, to provoke the hostility of our nearest neighbours; those correspondents, not politically responsible to any person or power on this continent; their half-dozen of employers in England not politically responsible to any institution of power in Britain or out of it; but guided only by their commercial instincts to possess a saleable newspaper which gives them the governance of vast operations in the Public Debts of the World; and brings under their anonymous and irresponsible control, Thrones, Legislatures, Cabinet Ministries, and the social well-being of industrial nations.

Is there in the world such another irresponsible, merciless tyranny? And yet that giant of journalism, and its imitators, who see that moral recklessness is financial fortune, will flourish, unblemished in reputation, undiminished in influence, yea enlarged in its influence, though the helter-skelter correspondence of its travelling writers and the eloquent incongruities of its in-door Editors, should plunge Britain in hostilities forthwith; should cover this fair Province with the ashes of war, from Gaspe Cape to Lake Superior, before next harvest.

IV.—*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, April, 1862 :

"We were speaking just now of the feeling between England and this country. It has been profoundly embittered by the letters of Mr. W. H. Russell, a reporter of the *Times* newspaper, sent by that journal for his talent of vivid description to write letters from the Crimea and India; and, upon the outbreak of our troubles, sent to this country to tell the story of our war. The London *Times* is the journal into which Englishmen look in the morning to see what they are to believe for the day."

Remark. For one day, or half a day, Englishmen were to believe, and act on the Stock Exchange accordingly, no matter at what risk of future National Debt, that "Canada is a formidable rival to the Northern States for dominion;" that, with her two and a half million of inhabitants, she seeks to absorb ten millions, by annexing seven or eight, or nine Western and North-western States, and the State of Maine in the East; with which, herself to be a nucleus, she aims "to form an overshadowing Empire," and that the United States will never collect taxes to pay interest on Public Debt. By such operations worked through the most powerful and irresponsible public journal in the world the Behemoths of Finance buy the debts of nations cheap to sell them dear.

The critical position of Canada has less relation to the truth of that assertion which the leading journal of Europe gives to the world as fact, than to the question : How far is the alleged rivalry for dominion believed in the United States? Did the Montreal correspondent, who so rashly approves the scheme of a new Empire, found his assertion on anything which the conspirators and traitors spoken of by Mr. Seward, may have entrusted to him? And does the American Secretary of State retain in close keeping information which has not yet arrived at its fullness of time?

There is a thin stream of light shining dimly at Detroit, in the State of Michigan, which partially illumines this darkness. Let us proceed to Detroit.

On the 20th of September, 1860, the Prince of Wales and his suite completed their tour through British North America. They arrived at Windsor, by Great Western Railway from Hamilton, at 6 o'clock P. M. When the Prince had accepted addresses from the Mayor and inhabitants of the last town to be visited in Canada, he was conducted on board the ferry boat *Windsor*, a steamer of large dimensions, which carries passengers and freight between the depot of the Detroit and Milwaukie Railroad, and that of the Great Western on this side. The Steamer was gorgeously decorated. On its deck stood the Governor of Michigan State, the Mayor of Detroit, the City Councillors, and about fifty of the principal citizens. It had been announced that the Prince would cease to be styled His Royal Highness, on crossing the boundary line, and would pass through America as Baron of Renfrew, a minor title derived from the olden Scottish throne.

Accordingly, when the *Windsor* arrived on the boundary line which is there in middle stream, the Mayor formally welcomed the Baron of Renfrew to the United States. The river, though ever grand and beautiful, is narrower at Detroit than at most other places. It is there twelve hundred and forty yards wide. To display the fleet of river and lake steamers, propellers, schooners, and other craft, which had been collected in honour of that day of international courtesies, the vessels were arranged in crescents, circles, and extended lines. As the Royal Stranger and attendants made their circuitous passage, they read on the illuminated rigging of the vessels various mottoes and words of courtesy. Banners and emblems were displayed in profusion. Flights of rockets and fireworks arose on each side and interchanged their crescent brilliancies in the sky. The mercantile warehouses and railway depots on the wharves were

illuminated. The whole river was a blaze of light, and crowds of people awaited the welcome visitors.

The Prince having lodged at the Russell House, was conducted by Mayor Buhl, next morning, in an open carriage, through some of the chief streets to the station of the Michigan Central Railway. There a gorgeous car awaited him. And so the Prince of Wales and suite departed for Chicago; music sounding, and flags flying, as they left Detroit.

A year after that pleasing visit of the distinguished British Strangers, namely, the last two weeks in September, 1861, I visited Windsor and Detroit to observe and inquire about the social and commercial intercourse of Canada and the Western States, (of which a special description in other chapters.) I was introduced to the managing partner of a mercantile firm at Detroit, which owns vessels, trading on the lakes and river, sufficiently numerous to be called a fleet.

On the visit of the Prince of Wales the vessels which had been detained in port at the busiest and most profitable period of the season of navigation, belonged in most part to that company. The splendor of the fireworks on river and shore, the grandeur of the first welcome from the United States to the eldest son of our beloved Queen, was in main part due to that firm, under approval of the Mayor of Detroit, the Governor of the State of Michigan and committee of citizens.

Yet the vessels and mariners had not long been despatched to their ordinary lines of traffic; nor the manager many weeks immersed in the fullness of his daily business, when he was astounded at receiving a "confidential" letter from Canada proposing to convert his courtesy to the Prince of Wales into treason against the United States, and inviting him to be partaker in a conspiracy to construct a North American Monarchy, as soon as events might present the convenient occasion.

Other citizens of the United States were addressed in a similar manner, some of them, it is now understood by personal and verbal communication.

Says the New York *Herald* of March 27, 1862:—"Our enthusiastic reception of the Prince of Wales, in the fall of 1860, was a striking evidence of the change," (the obliteration of old traditions of grievance, a new generation having arisen,) "so much so, indeed, that it gave rise to a

false suspicion that the course of the nation was tending towards monarchy."

The merchant of Detroit submitted the written proposals of treason to the Mayor and Michigan members of Congress. I was incredulous when he related the incidents of that affront offered to him, and to the country, of which he is a loyal citizen. "A hoax by some fool," was suggested. "No, not a hoax, the writer is known." "The signature may have been forged!" "No, not forged; means have been taken to verify the letter." "But it could not have proceeded from any person of political or social influence in the Province?" "The writer of that letter, and other persons concerned, are known, they are persons of position and influence in the Province." I remained silent and vexed beyond the power of conversation.

The Mayor, Members of Congress, and such of the citizens as had done courtesy to the Prince of Wales, and who knew of that proposal of treason, were still burning with anger when Mr. Seward visited Detroit, as a candidate for the Presidency, in November, 1860.

I have been informed, though not by the gentleman who had been addressed from Quebec, that after writing and speaking as Mr. Seward had done, in behalf of peace and good will between the United States and Canada, (*See Paragraph X.*) he like others felt that his country was affronted, and that Canada was being placed by some rash conspiracy in a position eminently perilous to its continuance, either as a British Province or an independent state. It was that absurd pretension, made on behalf of Canada against the integrity of the Republic, which led him to say, "the annexation of Canada to the United States is only a question of time," or words to that effect.

When that prophecy of 1860, was read on this side the frontier, it was received as inexcusably offensive. Yet the recollection of our wounded sensibilities at that time, should suggest now, that Americans have quite as much reason to be offended, when the leading journal of England, promulgates over the world, that Canada may be, or is to be, the centre of an overshadowing empire, founded on the ruins of the Republic. The present writer whose highest sentiment, after homage to Heaven, is loyalty to the institutions and integrity of the British empire, treasured up those words for a future day, when in his "History of the Progress of Canada," he might have occasion to descant on the elements of international amities

and enmities. But that unpleasing prophecy, "The annexation of Canada to the United States is only a question of time," when read by the light now glimmering from Detroit, has a meaning not so inexcusable in the origin of its utterance, as it then seemed to have, though not less serious to our people who have nothing to desire but peace.

The sting was felt on this side the frontier, and remained to trouble us, because Mr. Seward's secret was not ripe for explanation then, and perhaps is not now. For like reasons, probably he, as Secretary of State, remained silent in April, 1861, when questioned by the British Ambassador, at Washington, about United States agents being privately sent to Canada.

Until the documents received at Detroit, in 1860, and others collected elsewhere and since, are required for political exigencies, they are likely to remain in Mr. Seward's keeping, surrounded with silence, or only to be darkly hinted at, when occasion serves, as in his letter read at New York, on Washington's anniversary. When the States have fortified their frontiers at all points available, those papers may be published to justify to the world, and to posterity, a war of invasion. But posterity will judge otherwise. The people of Canada, in the mass, are alike innocent and uninformed of any such project of hostility against the United States.

A conversation between Mr. Seward and Lord Lyons, on the subject of secret agents sent from Washington to this Province, has been incidentally mentioned. The time of its occurrence, let it be observed, was April, 1861, when the rebellion of the South against the constitutional authority of the Federal Government was developing itself into demonstrative reality, and when the government had to confront that rebellion with a mere skeleton of an army and an undisciplined multitude of militia, with the treasury plundered, dockyards pillaged, fortifications in loyal States stripped of their armaments, and forts in other States occupied by traitors. Treason surrounded the new government of President Lincoln on every side, and concealed itself against a time for mischief in almost every public office. The rebels openly boasted that they would purchase ships for privateering wherever they might find them. Mr. Seward, as we are now aware, held documentary proofs that a conspiracy against the loyal States of the Union, had a name and habitation in Canada, co-existent with the preparations for rebellion in the Southern States. If, at that time, he were less courteous and more reserved in diplomatic intercourses than since, let us carry in mind that he and his colleagues and the President at their head, had just assumed the awful responsibilities of

governing a nation, unexampled in history for the width of its popular liberties, and which was by laxity and connivance of the previous administration, bursting into the flame of civil war. Lord Lyons, it is quite clear from his words and manner of speech, had no thought of Mr. Seward's knowledge, nor any information himself of Canada being the home of a Southern conspiracy aiming to involve us against the Republic at the risk of our peace and existence. It is a present misfortune, however, that only an extract of the private letter to Sir Edmund Head, has been published by the Foreign Office.

V.—Lord Lyons to Sir Edmund Head, Governor General of Canada :
[Extract.]

WASHINGTON, April 19, 1861.

"I informed you in a private letter some days ago, that I had learnt, from what I thought good authority, that this Government had determined to send two secret agents to Canada, and that it was supposed the object was to ascertain the state of feeling in the Province with regard to annexing itself to the United States.

* * * * *

I showed him the paragraph in the paper yesterday afternoon at the State Department, and asked him whether there was any truth in it.

"That," he replied, "is a question which I cannot answer."

"It is," I said, "a very irregular proceeding."

I repeated this remark, and then Mr. Seward asked why it was irregular.

I answered that it was an attempt to hold communication otherwise than in the regular official manner, and through the regular recognized channels.

After a pause Mr. Seward went on to say: "If you suppose that any agent of this Government has been dispatched with any object affecting the present Colonial relations of Canada to Great Britain, you are entirely mistaken."

I said that I was very far from having intended to suggest so grave a charge against the Government of the United States as this.

"After all," observed Mr. Seward, "if we did send an agent to Canada, I suppose it would be no treason."

I replied that "treason" was usually applied to breakers of the obligations between subjects and the Power to which they owed allegiance; that breaches of international obligations were a different matter.

Here the conversation ended. The impression left upon my mind was, that undoubtedly an agent or agents had been sent to Canada, and that whatever the object was, it was clearly one which the Secretary of State was unwilling to avow to the British Minister.

VI.—Lord Lyons to Lord John Russell, (since raised to the peerage as Earl Russell,) Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs :

WASHINGTON, April 22, 1861.

MY LORD :—The inclosed copy of a letter, which I addressed on the 19th instant to Gov. Gen. Sir Edmund Head, will make your Lordship acquainted with the steps taken by me with regard to a report that secret agents have been sent by this Government to Canada.

The Mr. George Ashman, who is stated to be one of these agents, was president of the convention at Chicago, which nominated Mr. Lincoln as the candidate of the Republican Party for the Presidency of the United States.

In one, at least, of his speeches during the Presidential canvass, Mr. Seward alluded to the eventual acquisition of Canada as a compensation to the Northern States for any loss they might sustain, in consequence of the disaffection of the Southern part of the Union.

I suppose, however, that the agents who now appear to have been sent to Canada have been dispatched with some definite and practical object. Your Lordship will perceive from my letter to the Governor General that although Mr. Seward refused to give me any other information on the subject, he did assure me that no agents were employed by this government for any object affecting the Colonial relations between Canada and the British Crown.

I have, &c., (Signed,) LYONS.

VII.—Lord Lyons to Lord J. Russell.

WASHINGTON, June 17, 1861.

MY LORD :—In the course of a conversation which I had with Mr. Seward this morning, he himself introduced the subject of the secret agent whom he had sent to Canada in April last. He said that Mr. Ashman,

the person sent, was a most respectable man, and that the object of his mission was to ascertain the feeling in Canada with regard to fitting out privateers on the St. Lawrence. Mr. Seward added, that as soon as I had spoken to him on the subject, he had re-called Mr. Ashman.

I did not enter into any discussion with Mr. Seward; but, in obedience to the instruction contained in your despatch of the 16th ultimo, I said that Her Majesty's Government considered that they had reason to complain that no previous notice had been given to me of the intention to despatch Mr. Ashman; and that no frank explanation had been given in reply to the inquiry which I had made. I added that I was directed not to conceal from Mr. Seward the unfavourable impression which the transaction had made on Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.,

(Signed,)

LYONS.

VIII.—*Southern Agents in Canada.*

The *Toronto Globe*, of April 5th, 1862, said:—"The *Detroit Tribune* has got up a story about some secret traitorous organization which has Canada West for a line of operations." The *Tribune* affirms thus:—"With rebel agents located in the principal cities of that Province, they keep up communications with Europe, and through their sympathizing clubs all along the frontier of Michigan, Minnesota, &c., bordering on Canada West, information is gathered and communicated to them, and correspondence forwarded to Europe and the Confederate Governments. It is one of the most extended and formidable conspiracies ever formed to aid an enemy in arms for the subversion of any Government."

Remark. We might do much injustice to individuals if every person from the Southern States, now in this Province, were pronounced a rebel agent, seeking to involve Canada and Britain in hostilities with the Federal Government. Some are unquestionably refugees only. They were abroad when the rebellion began, and cannot reach home, or they have fled from the South, or deserted from the Confederate armies. The freedom with which some, whom I have met in society, express their joy at any rumour of Southern success in battle, and their depression of spirit when battles are gained by the North, do not suggest the idea of their being agents of a conspiracy in this country. Conspirators are more guarded.

The rapid succession of news leads to forgetfulness of dates and confusion of political argument. The abduction of the rebel agents, Slidell

and Mason, from the British Mail Steamer Trent, 8th November, 1861, by a United States Ship of War, has been named in the Imperial Parliament, frequently in British newspapers, and daily in Canada, as the origin of the danger of rupture between Britain and the United States. That was only an incident in a series of perils, most of which have not risen to the surface of popular discussion. The Committee of Congress on Lake and River Defences originated in a message of the President antecedent to the SlideH and Mason trouble, while that message resulted from accumulated reports of special agents of inquiry, and memorials from trading companies and municipalities along the American frontier. The "recent events" spoken of in the following passages of the Committee's Report, are the events which induced the President to ask Congress to enter on the inquiry, and are doubtless the same that Mr. Seward referred to, on 22d February, 1862, as the attempted betrayal of the Union "back to the foreign yoke which the hand of Washington smote and broke." And that is a scheme of Southern origin; certainly not British, though domiciled in Canada. That some of its agents are British subjects in positions of influence at Montreal and Quebec, holding frequent communication with * * * * * from the Southern States now resident in those cities—the said Ladies fortified with all necessary credentials and balances of ready money in the banks, are assertions of fact believed on both sides of our Boundary Line, for which Canada may bitterly lament in some future day of battle fields and widows' tears. Yet Canada in the multitude of her people, who will suffer should war be the result, is innocent of all offence against the States. Let President Lincoln and his Secretaries of State, and the Congress of the United States, remember that Posterity, as well as contemporary nations, will judge them by that fact.

IX.—*Committee of Congress on Lake and River Defences.* (Extracts.)

"Mr. Arnold reported, February 10, 1862, that the Committee to which was referred so much of the President's message as refers to the defences and fortifications of the great lakes and rivers, to which also were referred various resolutions, petitions and memorials on this subject, having had the same under consideration, respectfully submit the following report: The line between the United States and the British possessions in North America, running from the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the East, and extending West through the river St. Lawrence, thence through Lake Ontario, Niagara river, Lake Erie, and thence

Westerly through the great lakes to and beyond the frontier settlements, presents a boundary line, running through those great lakes and rivers, of more than three thousand miles in extent.

The feeling of good neighbourhood, of reciprocity of interests, and of mutual good will, had been growing up, and with slight disturbance, had continued since the close of the war of 1812. For nearly half a century we have regarded our Canadian neighbours as our good friends, with whom we desired to establish the kindest and most intimate business, commercial and social relations. In the great lines of railway and water communication between the East and West, combinations and connexions have been established of mutual advantage. A treaty of reciprocity has been entered into. Some of our great thoroughfares of trade and travel have not avoided the Canadian territory, all indicating a willingness to break down or disregard division lines, and to live on terms of mutual good will. During this period the few scattered and imperfect defensive works and fortifications which had been constructed on the frontier had fallen into decay; and in some instances, the military reservations around our old forts had been converted into station grounds and depots for railways.

We had come to regard it as scarcely within the range of possibility that we should go to war with our neighbour over the line. This very neglect of the means of defence, as *recent events* have indicated, has increased the danger and liability of war; so that it seems the best security for peace is to be prepared for war. The defence of the great lakes and rivers, therefore, is suggested by the President to the consideration of Congress as a measure likely to promote peaceful relations between the two nations. As such, and with the sincere desire that nothing may ever disturb the peaceful relations so happily heretofore existing, and so important to the growth and development of both countries, we urge defensive measures on the consideration of Congress."

The report concluded by referring to the Traitors:--

"The great interests which your Committee ask Congress to protect are peculiar in their position, and in their relation to the Republic. The North-west is inland. It has as its channels of communication to the ocean, the great rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, and the canals and railways connecting the lakes and the ocean. It can never consent to become isolated from either of these great outlets; no foreign territory must

ever intervene between it and the mouth of the Mississippi. With one hand it clasps the East, and with the other it grasps the South, and it will hold this Union together. The North-west is as earnest in determination to preserve the Union, AS TRAITORS ARE TO DESTROY IT. The South-west believes that our nationality is worth all the blood and all the treasure which it may cost to preserve it, and she places her all of men and money at the command of the Government for that purpose. The Committee will report bills to carry into effect the foregoing recommendations."

Remark. These were the forts, naval yards, and arsenals, briefly alluded to in the preceding chapter, and for which appropriations of money have now been voted. They are described in detail in chapter III.

X.—*Mr. Seward on Canada in 1857. Letter to Albany Journal.*

"Hitherto, in common with most of my countrymen, I have thought Canada, or to speak more correctly, British America—a mere strip lying North of the United States, easily detachable from the parent State, but incapable of sustaining itself, and therefore ultimately, may right soon—to be taken on by the Federal Union, without materially changing or affecting its own condition or development. *I have dropped the opinion as a national conceit.*

I see in British North America, stretching, as it does across the continent from the shores of Labrador and Newfoundland and the Pacific, and occupying a considerable belt of the temperate zone, traversed equally with the United States by the lakes, and enjoying the magnificent shores of the St. Lawrence, with its thousands of islands in the river and gulf, a region grand enough for the seat of a great empire. In its wheat fields in the West, its broad ranges of the chase at the North, its inexhaustible lumber lands—the most extensive now on the globe—its invaluable fisheries and its yet undisturbed mineral deposits, I see the elements of wealth, I find its inhabitants hardy, vigorous, energetic, perfected by the Protestant religion and British constitutional liberty. Jealous of the United States and of Great Britain, as they ought to be; and therefore when I look at their resources and extent, I know they can neither be conquered by the former nor permanently held by the latter. They will be independent, as they are already self-maintaining. Having happily escaped the curse of slavery, they will never submit to the domination of slaveholders, which prevails in and determines the character of the United

States. They will be a Russia to the United States, which to them will be France and England; but they will be a Russia civilized and Protestant, and that will be a very different Russia from that which fills all Southern Europe with terror; and by reason of that superiority they will be all the more terrible to the dwellers in the Southern latitudes.

The policy of the United States is to propitiate and secure the alliance of Canada while it is yet young and inebriated of its future. But on the other hand, the policy which the United States actually pursues, is the infatuated one of rejecting and spurning vigorous, perennial, and ever-growing Canada, while seeking to establish feeble States, out of decaying Spanish Provinces on the coast and on the islands in the Gulf of Mexico. I shall not live to see it, but the man is already born who will see the United States mourn over this stupendous folly, which is only preparing the way for ultimate danger and downfall. All Southern Stars must set, though many times they rise again with diminished lustre. But those which illuminate the pole remain for ever shining, for ever increasing in splendour."

Remark. It is belief in that bright destiny of Northern free nations which binds Britain, Canada, and other Colonies together. They will not separate. For Britain to wilfully pluck her Empire to pieces to set up new nations in conformity to some theory of magnanimity, is an offence to the simplest principles of political philosophy. Were Canada to demand separation, and obtain it; or were she cut adrift, the inevitable fate of absorption, by her more powerful neighbour, and extinction of political existence, would follow. The integrity and perennial vigour of the British empire should be the lofty political faith of Conservative-Reformers; and Reforming-Conservatives, whether at home or in the colonies. And they who desire the permanence of British stability, or deserve the personal safety and freedom guaranteed by imperial laws, and by institutions at once venerable, and youthfully elastic in their adaptability to new circumstances, must by a logical necessity—if they hold any settled conservative principle—cherish a sympathy for other free nations, and hold in abhorrence a rebellious appeal to arms to overturn constitutional government. To provoke the antagonism of the United States to the very brink of war, (though not desiring nor intending real hostilities,) for the sake of handling an indefinite number of millions of pounds sterling, which Britain, if stricken by some frenzy or blind madness, might scatter on the impossible fortification of Canada, may be a policy agreeable to the instincts of con-

tractors with land to sell, shovels and wheel-barrows to let, but is revolting to those who are conservative of free institutions and of public well-being.

Land-traders and contractors are useful in this industrial community; but in possession of all the offices of government with a subsidized newspaper press perfect in its discipline—the militia forces for defence not disciplined, nor embodied, nor the means of paying a militia provided, they are terribly dangerous to the safety of the Province and peace of the British Empire.

Reasons why the government and people of Britain cannot be parties to the subversion of the American Union, by urging Canada to a rivalry for dominion; among others these:—

1.—The Queen cannot aspire to any personal, or family, or collateral exaltation or interest apart from the stability, safety and well-being of the nation. Nor has the Sovereign any power of political action apart from the Cabinet Council of Ministers. A long and intimate acquaintance with British politics within the inner political circles of London, warrants my unwavering certainty that the statesmen now in power and in opposition, are earnestly the statesmen of peace; peace at any sacrifice of sentiment consistent with the safety and honour of their country.

2.—The British rulers, Monarch and Ministers, understand thoroughly well, were it not repugnant and abhorrent to suppose them capable of complicity with traitors, that any attempt proceeding from Canada, to detach the North-western States from the Republic would be instantly and justly resented by all the energy and strength of the proud and powerful American nation.

3.—Every motive of self-interest which can operate in favour of peace, pleads that Britain should remain in fast friendship with the American Union.

4.—Britain has neither military nor naval forces, after guarding her shores at home, and providing for contingencies in other colonies and military positions abroad, to render it possible that she should challenge and wilfully provoke hostilities with the United States on the soil of Canada, even if there were no room to suppose that France would join the States against her.

5.—The common sense of ordinary men, apart from the sagacity of statesmen, proclaims in the face of all political theories, that a

monarchy founded on a dismembered democracy, the oldest and chief States remaining together as a Republic, the newspapers over the whole Northern Continent exercising unlimited freedom, and in their license irrepressible in time of peace, would be a Political Fabric founded on treason, and surrounded by all the elements of convulsion and of early doom.

6.—To consign a British Prince to humiliation, and his Royal relations to the grief of seeing him seated on the volcanic throne of a North-American democracy, were even the preliminary acts of the tragic drama within the chances of occurrence, would be a prelude to consequences that might involve in a final catastrophe the venerated monarchy of Britain itself.

The members of Government in Canada cannot hazard a war with America, as "formidable rivals for dominion," for these reasons among others :—

1.—They may, in the course of years, organize an army to make the invasion of Canada difficult; but cannot in any circumstances under their control, raise, discipline and equip an army of aggression, able to withstand that which would resist it. Because, "thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just." Their quarrel in such a war would not be just.

2.—The Mother Country would disown Canada, were such a suicidal offence against the United States attempted.

3.—Were it feasible to suppose, or even excusable to imagine, that the executive government of Canada, could seek to accomplish by conspiracy that rivalry for dominion attributed to this Province, we must also imagine them to know that war would be a certainty; the ruin of commerce, industry, and the sources of revenue an immediate result; the acquisition of money to carry on war in such a general convulsion impossible; and their own ruin, politically and personally, an event of the earliest days of the first campaign.

CHAPTER III.

The West in 1825 viewed by the Bishop of Toronto.—The great City of the Continent to arise on the Upper Lakes.—Report of the Committee of Congress on Lake and River Defences, 1861, 1862.—Soldiers of the North-west, their gallantry in the field, their apparent quality, as seen by the author at Fort Wayne, September, 1861.—American ordinance for navigation of the St. Lawrence, 1787; that to be insisted on now at any cost.—Plans of American Defence.—Three naval depots on Lakes Ontario, Erie, Michigan, and a National Foundry on the Upper Lakes.—Deepening of St. Clair Flats.—Illinois and Michigan Canal.—Forts to command entrance to Lake Superior.—Military roads to be made.—Straits of Maki-naw.—Commerce of Lake Michigan two hundred million dollars per annum.—General Totten's plan to fortify Maki-naw Islands.—The work begun May, 1862; some of the men employed enlisted from Canada at rates of pay which Canada does not offer for her own defence.—Fort Porter to be completed, with a Tower and Batteries at mouth of Buffalo Harbour.—Fort Niagara.—Forts to defend Genesee River and City of Rochester.—Rochester promises to cross Ontario Lake and make defenceless Cobourg and Port Hope "pay for THAT."—"THAT" is the Secesh Leader in Toronto.—Fort Ontario at Oswego, and Fort Montgomery on Lake Champlain.—Put-in-Bay, Lake Erie.—Harbour of Toledo, Lake Erie.—Great naval Harbour for Lake Erie.—National Foundry to be at Chicago.—Thirteen Railroads; sixteen thousand railway cars unite at Chicago with lake, river and canal shipping, to defend the American Shore.—Ship Canal around Niagara River.—Population of the States and Cities opposite Canada.

Bishop Strachan, of Toronto, in 1825, pleading for the formation of the Welland Canal, thus depicted the Western lakes and the country not then peopled. How grandly the crush of traffic on that canal, on the Welland railway, and on all the canals and railways of Canada realize his words this day, May, 1862:—

"No work in Europe or America will bear a comparison with it in usefulness. In touching upon the mighty results which must soon follow its completion, the truth will assume the appearance of the most extravagant exaggeration, to those who do not make themselves acquainted with

the singular geographical position of North America. The great inland seas above the Falls of Niagara, containing more than half the fresh water upon this planet, bounded by upwards of 400,000 square miles of as fertile land as can be found on the Globe, and extending in length of coast five thousand miles. These seas affording the most beautiful and commodious means of internal communication ever beheld, on a scale which human science and human labour, or the treasures of a world cannot rival, can be approached by ships only through the Welland canal, with which, in point of usefulness, no other work of the kind, in Europe or Asia, ancient or modern, will bear any comparison."

In the Report of the New York Canal Commissioner, Samuel B. Ruggles said in 1859:—

"The West is among us, and upon us in full vigour, defying all the power of party politicians, however persevering to shut out the truth, that within the next twenty years the property to be carried through this State, to and from the West, will amount at least to *twenty-five hundred millions of dollars*, if not a much larger sum."

Colonel Graham, State Engineer, asserts that the lake and canal commerce exceeds in value the foreign commerce of the United States before the war, by twenty times.

Westward movement of the centre of Population, Commerce, and of Industrial Power in North America.—[*New York Merchants' Magazine*.

"In the rapidly developing greatness of North America, it is interesting to look to the future and speculate on the most probable points of centralization of its commerce and social power. Including with our nation, as forming an important part of its commercial community, the Canadas and contiguous provinces, the centre of population, white and black, is a little West of Pittsburgh, situated at the head of navigation on the Ohio river. The movement of this centre is North of West, about in the direction of Chicago. The centre of productive power cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. We know it must be a considerable distance East and North of the centre of population. That centre too, is on its grand march Westward. Both, in their regular progress, will reach Lake Michigan. Is it not, then, as certain as anything in the future can be, that the central power of the continent will move to and become permanent on the border of the great lakes? Around these pure waters will gather the densest populations, and on their borders will grow

up the best towns and cities. * * It can scarcely admit of a doubt that the domestic commerce of North America bears a proportion of twenty to one of its foreign commerce. At the present rate of increase the United States and the Canadas, fifty years from this time, will contain over one hundred and twenty millions of people. If we suppose one hundred and five millions, and that those shall be distributed so that the Pacific States shall have ten millions, and the Atlantic border twenty-five millions, there will be left for the great interior plain seventy millions. Those seventy millions will have twenty times as much commercial intercourse with each other as with all the world besides. It is obvious then, that there must be built up in their midst THE GREAT CITY OF THE CONTINENT. And not only so, but that they will sustain several cities greater than those that can be sustained on the ocean border."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS ON LAKE AND RIVER DEFENCES, 1861-62.

"The growth of Buffalo, Rochester, Erie, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Milwaukee and Chicago, are all indexes of the rapid advance of lake commerce and the agriculture of the West; and in the aggregate, reach a magnitude which is entitled to the most favourable consideration of Congress. The North-west abounds in all the elements of a great and prosperous country. It has thus far been the agricultural section, but with its inexhaustible supplies of coal, lumber and metals, it will ere long become a great manufacturing country. The iron and copper of Lake Superior are attracting the attention of the world.

The North-west has grown by the energy and industry of its own hardy free people, receiving less aid from the Federal treasury than any other section. Its harbours, though filled with a commerce, in comparison with which that of the now rebel and lately petted and favoured seaboard section sinks into insignificance, have yet been neglected because the water on which that commerce floated was *fresh*. Its defences have been abandoned and have fallen into decay. As compared with the South the North-west has literally received nothing from the national treasury.

The South has had navy yards, fortifications, custom-houses, and harbours, costing millions of dollars. There has been expended on the Gulf of Mexico and Florida coasts more millions of dollars than the Northern frontier has received thousands. The East too has had, and very properly, fortifications, forts, armories, navy yards, depots, arsenals and ships. The North-west asks simply justice, but not even that at this

time. In the midst of this war she asks only that some of her most important leading and exposed points be fortified and placed in a condition of defence; that an armory and foundry be established on the lakes to enable her to have the means of arming her citizen soldiers, and that navy yards be established so that naval stores may be collected.

The Committee urge those defences as not less important to New England and the great middle States of New York and Pennsylvania than to the North-west itself. The vast agricultural products of the West find their way to the Atlantic along the great canals and railways running through those States.

New York, possessing the Hudson river (next to the Mississippi, perhaps the most important river in the Union) has expended, to connect it with the lakes, over forty millions of dollars. The Hudson, the New York Canals, and the great lakes, have made the City of New York, the commercial metropolis of the nation. It has thus been brought into water communication with all the interior, and by means of the Illinois, and Michigan canal and Illinois river, there have been brought to her wharves and warehouses the agricultural produce, not only of the vast territory lying around the lakes, but also those of the valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri.

Pennsylvania also, has by her canals and railways connected her great city of Philadelphia with those great inland seas. The security of these waters and our national supremacy on the lakes, the protection of our Northern frontier are quite as important therefore to the East as to the West, and it is time that the fact was recognized by the Government, that *the shore line of the lakes, six thousand two hundred and fifty miles in extent*, is scarcely inferior, in importance, to the Atlantic coast. We trust that our friends of the East will recognize the fact that the West attained its majority, and that its provincial history terminated with the census of 1860. Our brethren of the East will not forget, when asked to vote for defences to these lakes, that these waters now bearing to the ocean such vast products have been the scene of the most brilliant naval triumphs which adorn our history.

Fully one half of the soldiers now in the field in defence of the flag and our nationality have been drawn from the North-west. How gallantly the soldiers of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Min-

nesota, and the other North-western States are fighting, every battle field bears its testimony."

Stop:—A Passing Remark on Western Soldiers.

Battles fought and won since the Committee of Congress made their Report at the beginning of February, up to the end of April, 1862, give additional proof that those soldiers of the North-west, some of whom I saw in their embryo condition in 1861, are what their robust, healthful, cheerful appearance promised they would be. On the occasion of visiting Fort Wayne, three miles below Detroit, where the Eighth and Ninth Michigan Infantry were quartered, and Camp Lyon, three miles above the city, where the 1st Michigan Cavalry were in process of formation, I pencilled some remarks. The note book of that day reads thus:—

DETROIT, September 20, 1861.—I admire this city; its noble river, wide streets, bustling traffic. The recruits for the United States army are active young fellows; true material for soldiers. They, in the incomplete regiments, (9th Michigan and Cavalry,) wear their own clothes. I have not seen any ragged, dirty, or dissipated looking recruits; the men have generally the appearance of the best class of our English labourers, or hard-working, well-fed railway 'navvies.' The others wear a loose, dark blue uniform. Of many met in the streets and along three miles of road, not one misbehaving in any way. None tipsy. Not better in physical qualities than our British recruits, but comparing favourably with them in conduct, before subjection to discipline. Since I was a recruit in Duke street, Westminster, London, thirty years ago, the assembled youths gathered from Scotland, England, Ireland, have frequently passed under my notice; none making a better promise by outward look than these. The cavalry men are lighter and less robust than the infantry; all the better for their horses; a dragoon is nothing with a worn-out horse. One-third of all the horses offered are rejected on inspection. Many of them too finely bred for troopers. Price \$100. Bounty to recruits, infantry and cavalry, \$100. Fort Wayne commands the navigation. Its guns might scatter to rubbish the opposite town of Sandwich, on Canada shore, distance one mile. Batteries at Sandwich would level the stone building used as barracks within Fort Wayne; not the outer earthworks. No guns visible, but the embrasures indicate the intention of a formidable armament.

The Congress Committee continue thus:—

“ The Republic has naturally three great systems of navigable waters. The Atlantic on the East; the lakes on the North, and the Mississippi on the West. By means of the New York canals, and the Illinois and Michigan canal, these are all united by water communication.

It may not be out of place in this connection, and at this crisis in our national affairs, to recal the provisions of the ordinance of 1787, which declared that the navigable waters of the Mississippi and the St Lawrence, and the carrying places between them, shall be common highways and forever free from any tax, duty, or impost thereon. This guarantee of a free outlet, East and South, the North-west will, under all circumstances, and at any cost, insist upon. The value and importance of these vast water communications, the most magnificent on the globe, have been immensely increased by the net work of railways which extend from the lakes South and West, all over the vast inland, bringing to these waters the agricultural products of more than half the continent. Chicago alone has no less than thirteen great trunk railways radiating from her as a common centre, and bringing to her docks the products of every farm between the lakes and the Rocky Mountains.

PLAN OF DEFENCE.—In regard to the general plan of the defences of the lakes and Northern frontier, the Committee have conferred with the General commanding the army (McLellan) and Brigadier-General Totten, of the engineer department, and have adopted to a considerable extent their suggestions:—

We respectfully urge upon the consideration of Congress the following plan of Defences of the Northern frontier :

First.—The establishment of shore defences at some commanding positions. This will require the erection of some new fortifications, and the repair and completion of some already located.

Second.—Taking into consideration the great superiority in the American merchant marine on the upper lakes, (meaning all the lakes above the Falls of Niagara,) in ships, steamers and sailers, we regard our supremacy on the lakes as dependent, in a great degree, on our having the means at hand of arming the merchant marine at short notice. To this end the Committee recommend the establishment of a national foundry on the upper lakes; and three naval depots, one on Lake Ontario, one on Lake Erie, and the other on Lake Michigan.

Third.—We earnestly recommend for military, not less than commercial purposes, the improvement of the harbours on the lakes, the dredging out and widening of the channel over the St. Clair Flats.

Fourth.—The enlargement of the Illinois and Michigan Canal.

IN REGARD TO SHORE DEFENCES.—“The entrance to Lake Superior is through the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, a work which cost about two millions of dollars, and it is too important to be overlooked. The mineral region of Lake Superior is probably richer in iron and copper than any other in the world; and the iron has been found to be superior in quality for many purposes to any other known. These mines have been rapidly developed, and now constitute an important national interest. Old Fort Brady is represented as commanding the entrance to Lake Superior, and an appropriation for its repair, or a new fort, more eligibly situated for the purpose is recommended.

A military road from Bay de Noquet, on Green Bay, to Marquette, or some other point on Lake Superior, and an early completion of the railroad from Appleton to Lake Superior, would afford additional communication with this great lake; and both of these are of great importance for military reasons, and are earnestly recommended to the consideration of Congress.

STRAIT OF MAKINAW.—This Strait constitutes the door to Lake Michigan, around which lake lie the States of Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, with an aggregate population amounting to nearly five millions. On its shores are the towns of Grand Haven, Muskegan, St. Joseph, Michigan City, Chicago, Waukegan, Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee and Green Bay, with many others, rising rapidly into importance. The commerce of this lake exceeds two hundred million dollars per annum.

The great granary of the Union has its depots on the border of this lake. It can be defended by adequate fortifications at the Straits of Makinaw, about three miles wide. Fortifications at the Straits of Makinaw close the opening or entrance into this great inland sea. When the vast interests thus secured are considered, it is obvious that Lake Michigan and all its shores and cities should be defended on the threshold at Makinaw.

The importance of having a great inland sea, like Lake Michigan, converted into a secure harbour, where fleets and navies may be gathered together in security; where may be collected magazines of arms and munitions, and provisions can scarcely be exaggerated.

Lake Michigan entirely within our own territory, unapproachable by land, and inaccessible by water by any foreign enemy, except through a narrow strait or entrance, is a position of immense importance, and the policy of closing its entrance is too obvious to need illustration.

MAKINAW TO BE MADE THE GIBRALTER OF THE UPPER LAKES.
 —Upon the importance of this locality we insert the following extract from a communication of General Totten:—‘As to the stronger works, I consider one at Makinaw to be indispensable. This will be the principal watching point of the upper lakes. Here war steamers will call to refresh, to communicate with each other, to find shelter, to lie in wait. It is hardly to be supposed that a hostile naval expedition, coming out of Georgian Bay, (in Canada,) would venture towards the upper lakes or down Lake Huron, certainly not into Lake Michigan, while this point of observation and rendezvous is occupied by our superior squadron. The fort here must be adequate to protect this anchorage, and the defences of the island should be such as to defeat any enterprise designed to wrest it from us by superior force.’

The Committee are clear in their judgment that in view of the vast importance of Makinaw, and the interests there to be defended, the Government should take immediate means to close the Straits against the entrance of any hostile fleet. [May, 1862, artillery and engineers, some recruited in Canada, at a rate of pay which Canada does not offer, are now fortifying Makinaw islands.] Fort Gratiot fully commands the entrance to Lake Huron, and should be immediately re-constructed and put in a condition to control this gate to Lake Huron. The lower entrance to the Straits of River Detroit is already well guarded by Fort Wayne. This should be completed and receive its armament. The report of General Totten, in which the Committee concur, recommends additional appropriations and defences at Buffalo, to wit, the completion at Fort Porter on the bluff between Buffalo and Black Rock, and the mounting of its armament for the protection of the entrance of Lake Erie into Niagara River, and the construction of a Tower and Shore Batteries at the mouth of Buffalo harbour. Also, an appropriation for Fort Niagara, the construction of defensive works at the mouth of Genesee River.” [That means the City of Rochester, which by its newspapers threatens to cross Ontario Lake and make defenceless Cobourg, Port Hope, Whitby, Bowmanville, Oshawa and other North Shore towns in Canada, “pay for *that*.” The *that* being a year’s insolence of one of the Toronto daily papers, an inadequate justification of war certainly, yet an item in the causes of Trans-

Ontario anger.] "Also, the repairs of Fort Ontario at Oswego; and appropriations for other defensive works on Lakes Erie and Ontario, and the River St. Lawrence; and for the construction of Fort Montgomery on Lake Champlain. The Committee will report bills to carry out these suggestions and recommendations.

It will be observed, in regard to Lake Ontario, that we have no access to that from the upper lakes, except through foreign territory; our superiority in shipping, therefore, on the upper lakes would be unavailing on Lake Ontario. It is, therefore, important that in addition to the fortification of exposed points, additional provision should be made *for securing and maintaining our supremacy on that lake*. The Committee recommend the establishment of a naval depot on Lake Ontario for arms, munitions and naval stores. *The possession of this lake is of the utmost importance*. These great arteries of trade, the Erio Canal, and New York Central Railroad, are within a day's march of nearly the length of Lake Ontario, and for a considerable distance within a few miles of its shores. The importance of lake defences to the State of New York has already been alluded to. It will not be forgotten that in the year 1812 her borders were the scene of bloody battles. Buffalo, now the Queen City of Lake Erie, then a small village, was burned. Oswego was captured; and Lake Champlain and Niagara River were the scene of some of the most stirring events of the war.

We should pursue no aggressive policy; on the contrary, cultivate amicable relations with all nations. Yet at the same time, we should look carefully to our defences.

The Secretary of State well said, 'that any nation may be said to voluntarily incur danger in tempestuous seasons, when it fails to show that it has sheltered itself on the very side from which the storm may come.' And the President of the United States spoke wisely when he said,—'It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms, and munitions, with harbour and navigation improvements, at well selected points upon our great rivers and lakes, would be of great importance to our national defence and preservation.'

The Committee also recommend that fortifications be erected at the entrance of Maumee Bay, Put-in-Bay, and on the adjacent islands on Lake Erie.

Put-in-Bay, the harbour where Perry's fleet was moored, previous to the battle of Lake Erie, is one of the most important and accessible har-

hours on the lake. It is especially convenient for vessels overtaken by storm on the lake, perfectly safe and easy of access from any direction.

The harbour of Toledo is one of the best and most important on Lake Erie. It is formed by the estuary of the Maumee River, and is of sufficient capacity for the entire lake marine, perfectly safe and land-locked, and accessible through Maumee Bay from the lake.

Toledo is naturally the key to a large portion of the North-west, commanding the agricultural wealth of Northern Ohio, Southern Michigan, Northern Indiana, Central Illinois, Missouri and Iowa, and through the railroads and canals, of which it is the terminus, affording ample means of distribution over a large, well-cultivated and rapidly improving portion of our country. Seven railroads, connecting with Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati and all intermediate places, terminate at Toledo. This also is the terminus of the longest continuous line of canals in the world. The Miami and Erie connecting with Cincinnati, and the Wabash and Erie connecting with Evansville on the Ohio, a distance of more than one hundred miles below Louisville. In extent, variety, and value of commercial operations, Toledo, in proportion to its size, has no equal in this country."

GREAT NAVAL HARBOUR FOR LAKE ERIE.

"The harbour of Erie (Presque Isle Bay, State of Pennsylvania, on Lake Erie) presents high claims to consideration as an important position in our system of lake defences. In regard to this point, J. I. Albert, Colonel of Topographical Engineers, in a Report to the Secretary of War, says:—'This extremely fine harbour, one of the most valuable on the lake, in reference to military and naval advantages, the only harbour in fact on the lake in which a fleet can be assembled, and where it can be completely protected against weather or an enemy, is also one of the points of connection between the commerce of the Atlantic and the Western States, and the lakes, by means of canals and railroads already made, or in the course of construction, in the State of Pennsylvania.

And G. W. Williams, Captain of Topographical Engineers, in his Report to the Chief Engineer, speaking of this harbour, says:—'It seems to fulfil, to a great extent, certain requisite conditions (as a site for a naval rendezvous) than any other upon the lake. Its comparatively central position would enable it with facility to extend its succour promptly to any point on the lake. The ease with which it might be entered, under any circumstances of wind, by the plan projected for its improvement, its facil-

ities of intercourse with the most densely populated parts of the country, and, above all, its remarkable conformation as a convenient secure harbour, characterize it as a site for a naval rendezvous of the highest order.

* * Thus its freedom from ice at the earliest opening of spring, enabling vessels to enter upon active duties while yet they would be ice-bound at the lower end of the lake—its land-locked area containing about six square miles of good anchorage, with a depth averaging twenty feet—the interposition of Presque Isle as a guarantee from hostile surprise; its comparatively central position are its peculiar advantages and indicate it as a point that cannot be too highly appreciated by the general government.”

NAVAL DEPOTS AND NATIONAL FOUNDRY FOR THE UPPER LAKES.

“The second proposition, in regard to the defences of the Northern frontier, is the establishment of a national foundry on the upper lakes and naval depots. Attention has already been called to the superiority of the American lake marine over that of Canada on the upper lakes. In 1861 the number of American vessels, of all descriptions, on the upper lakes, was 1,166; of Canadian, 326. Our superiority was 830. Our superiority in tonnage was 238,126 tons. Our superiority in sailors 10,911. This superiority, without arms, is unavailing, and would only invite attack. The immense merchant marine, unarmed, would furnish rich prizes to British gun-boats. Great Britain has been collecting an abundance of the best guns in Canada. The lakes are utterly without arms; what few there were having been taken to the Mississippi. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that means of arming these vessels and the fortifications to be constructed, should be furnished at the earliest possible period. Fortunately we have all the materials for the manufacture of arms and ordnance of the best quality at command, and skilled mechanics and artisans, so that, with proper action of the Government, the work of making heavy guns may be immediately begun. We insert the following extract from the report of Messrs. Morris, of the navy, and Totten, of the army, on this point:

‘Nearly all the steam vessels, and many sailing vessels, could be very soon prepared to carry heavy guns, and some of them could carry several without inconvenience. If, therefore, the Government shall make deposits of ordnance and ordnance stores, at convenient posts, and be prepared to officer and man the vessels which they could purchase, the naval control of these important lakes may be considered secure against any attack.’

In this connexion the Committee desire to call the attention of Congress to the fact that such is the nation's need of ordnance, that we are told by very high authority that it will require three years with all the means, public and private, now at the command of the Government, to furnish the ordnance necessary to arm the fortifications now constructed, or in the process of construction. The Committee therefore recommend the immediate establishment of a foundry on the upper lakes. This foundry should be located at Chicago. Some of the reasons why, in our judgment, it should be located there are as follow :

Chicago is the great centre of the region to be supplied with arms. Its facilities for cheap and rapid distribution are unequalled. She has direct water communication by lake and canal, and river, with every portion of the West. *Thirteen great trunk railways* radiate from her as a common centre, with more than six thousand miles of railway, and upon these railroads, centring at Chicago, the Government can obtain *sixteen thousand cars for transportation*. Chicago is concededly one of the greatest railway centres on the continent. She can obtain, by cheap and convenient water connexion, the best ores and metals for guns, and especially the inexhaustible ores of Lake Superior, which it should be the policy of the Government to develop. With the best materials at command, with an abundant supply of labour, and mechanical skill, Chicago in the judgment of the Committee, combines more advantages for the location than any other point.

In regard to the manufactory of ordnance as of primary importance to the defence of the Northern frontier, the Committee call the attention of Congress to the following remarks from General Totten :—"The great superiority of our steam and other merchant vessels, on the upper lakes, (including Lake Erie,) any portion of which may be promptly converted into war vessels, greatly simplifies defensive arrangements on the shores of these lakes. But that this superiority may be assumed with the requisite promptitude before these means have been surprised and destroyed by the earlier readiness of an enemy there should be at hand, actually stored and kept in perfect condition, all the means for converting these large and swift steamers, &c., into vessels of war—that is to say, all the armament and its supplies. Moreover, if for want of adequate protection of this nature, the towns and cities had to resort to local defence, these, in many instances, could only be made sufficient at great expense."

* * * The rapid advance in the prosperity of the British Provinces, and more especially of the United States, since the close of the

war of 1812, furnish a striking illustration of the blessings of peace. (*Congress Report.*) The population of the United States in 1815 was 8,353,338. In 1860 it was 31,148,571. The Western States of Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and Kansas, have been admitted into the Union since that period. The Northwestern States to-day, including Ohio, have a population of 9,073,055. They have sprung into existence and developed the proportions of an empire since the war of 1812 closed in 1815.

Pennsylvania, though an Atlantic State, has also a frontier opposite Canada, lying between New York and Ohio. Its lake city is Erie, with a harbour, and the sheltered anchorage of Presque Isle. Population of Pennsylvania, in 1820, one million and forty-nine thousand; in 1862, three millions, with eighty or more regiments in the war. New York State lies opposite Canada, with a sinuous frontier of six hundred miles, including most of the islands in the St. Lawrence, which command, or might obstruct the navigation, by river and canal, some of which have been recently surveyed by State military engineers, April and May, 1862. Of these United States islands, and the great canals of Canada, which carry navigation past the St. Lawrence Rapids, between Prescott and Montreal, ninety miles, we shall have occasion to write more in detail presently. The population of New York State, with all its bays, harbours, islands and cities; with canals and railways ramifying from the Atlantic seaboard and all parts of the Union, conveying and distributing on the frontier, and now interchanging traffic with the Grand Trunk, the Great Western, and the Buffalo and Lake-Huron railways of Canada; also the transverse Canada lines, Port Stanley railway, Welland railway, Northern of Canada, from Toronto to Georgian Bay; the lines from Port Hope rearward to the Peterboro' and Victoria country; from Brockville to the Ottawa River, with branch to flourishing little Perth and Almonte; and from Prescott to Ottawa City, the latter two lines in central Canada; that great State holding such intimate relations with all of those lines, had a population of one million three hundred thousand in 1815, and has now, 1862, four millions, with over a hundred regiments in the great war, fighting for national conservatism. Its cities on the frontier were villages in 1815, some of them not founded until long after; and like the opposite shores of Canada, now peopled and cultivated, its lake and river frontage was then forest and wild land. Over a space of a thousand miles the people cross the Boundary line, from side to side, to intermingle in worship on worshipping days; the trading people to buy and sell on

working days; the aged to visit their children, who have inter-married; and the young to inter-weave yet more closely the social relations, by love which knows no boundary line, nor winter from summer, on these friendly waters. A British General, for whom I have a sentiment of honour amounting to military reverence, I having served under him in campaigns in Spain, which tested human nature, as terribly as ever war tried the body and soul of armies, yet who is uninformed about Upper Canada, never having seen it personally—Sir de Lacy Evans I mean—he, writing to a London newspaper lately, stated that the frontier of Canada is in most part “inaccessible.” There is no portion of it, on a line of fifteen hundred miles, inaccessible, except ten or twelve miles of the Niagara torrent, and that is bridged over. And around that torrent, were the bridges swept like cobwebs into wreck, as may be the case on the day when God forgets to send steam vessels of all capacities, of all drafts of water, would swarm, or might swarm, across the frontier lakes and rivers. The issue would then lie between the most active, and numerous, and most terribly invulnerable of the iron-sided rams-of-war.

Relative proportions of lake and river craft, belonging to Canada and the United States, now covering the waters with the beautiful flutter of sails and noise of industry—music of an Age of Reason yielding obedience to Heaven, or to be consigned five hundred fathoms down, by Steam Fiends, on the day of Belial and rebellion against Man's common sense.

UNITED STATES VESSELS, 1861.

	No.	Tonnage.	Men.
Paddle-wheel Steamers	71	40,125	1,775
Propellers.....	182	56,203	3,640
Barks.....	44	18,331	528
Brigs.....	70	20,613	770
Schooners.....	789	174,015	7,890
Sloops.....	10	345	40
Total	1,166	309,632	14,643

CANADA VESSELS, 1861, (exclusive of Montreal Ocean Steamships.)

	No.	Tonnage.	Men.
Steamers.....	76	24,544	1,900
Propellers.....	21	4,748	420
Barks.....	18	6,787	216
Brigs.....	16	4,258	176
Schooners.....	200	30,885	2,000
Sloops.....	5	283	20
Total.....	336	71,505	3,732

Lake and River Shipping of the United States exceeds that of Canada : In number of vessels, 830 ; amount of tonnage, 238,127 ; in value, as estimated for insurance, \$7,033,250 ; in number of men, 10,911.

Population of chief Cities and Towns on the United States Lake and River Frontier, opposite Canada West :

	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Oswego, N. Y.....	992	2,703	4,665	12,205	16,816
Rochester, N. Y.....	...	9,269	20,190	36,403	48,204
Buffalo, village in 1815	...	8,653	18,213	42,261	81,129
Dunkirk, N. Y.....	...	...	...	...	5,615
Erie, Penn.	635	1,329	3,412	5,858	9,419
Cleveland, O.....	606	1,076	6,071	17,034	43,417
Toledo, O.....	...	...	1,222	3,829	13,768
Detroit, Mich.....	1,422	2,222	9,102	21,019	45,619
Milwaukie, Wis.....	...	...	1,712	20,061	45,254
Chicago, Ill.....	...	...	4,470	29,963	109,263

Table of population, and area of territory in the West and North-west, which American conspirators against their own nationality, and a handful of dangerous British subjects in Canada, are now conspiring to detach from the Union at the hazard of war between the United States and Great Britain. Several hundred millions sterling of deeper debt ; ruin of commerce, internal convulsion, and human anguish unspeakable a probable consequence to Britain ; the invasion of Canada, devastation of the frontier, and occupation of some of our cities with a terrible ransom to pay, a consequence not less certain to this Province, unless avoided in good time :—

"AMERICAN FRAGMENTS FOR A NORTH-WESTERN MONARCHY."

	Population 1850.	Population 1860.	Area in Square Miles.
Ohio.....	1,980,329	2,339,599	39,964
Indiana.....	988,416	1,350,479	33,809
Illinois.....	851,470	1,711,753	55,405
Michigan.....	397,654	749,112	56,243
Wisconsin.....	305,391	773,873	53,294
Iowa.....	192,214	674,948	50,914
Minnesota.....	6,077	162,022	34,591
Missouri.....	682,044	1,173,317	67,380
Kansas.....	.....	107,110	114,798
Nebraska.....	.....	28,842	335,882
Total.....	5,403,595	9,073,055	842,910

The State of Maine in the East, with Portland Harbour on the Atlantic, is intended to be added, when acquired by purchase or otherwise. For further particulars about "Corner Lots" to be given away in this North-Western Empire, apply to the Lady Emissaries of Messrs. Slidell and Mason, now in Montreal and Quebec; or to the conspirator correspondents who wrote to Detroit in November, 1860—persons of "position and influence at Quebec;" or to the Montreal "own correspondent" of the London *Times*, who will also explain the position and value of the "Corner Lots" of the future Empire to those going to join the Southern Confederate army. Such was the state of agencies at Montreal in January and February, 1862, when the English *Times* proclaimed that Canada is a formidable rival for dominion; that she is to be the nucleus around which the fragments of the Republic may gather into an overshadowing empire. [See Chapter II.]

Canada, save yourself. Britain, avoid five hundred millions sterling of new debt, and all the ruin and appalling anguish of the wars such traitors may lead you to; drift not to the internal convulsion and irretrievable ruin such debts and battles may involve you in. Look at the evidence taken by the Committee of Secresy on the state of the Bank of England—1819. There, the highest financial authorities declared that the campaign of Waterloo could not have been entered on in sufficient time—the battle of Waterloo could not have been fought and won, had such a seemingly small matter as cash payments been compulsory on the

Bank of England, at the time of Napoleon's escape from Elba, in 1815. Look at eighteen years of British military and financial struggle, previous to the first decisive battle of the war fought on land, that of Vittoria, July, 1813, all forgotten or unknown to the present generation. These are epitomised in some chapters of this work. Listen to the voice of Wellington, the mighty dead speaking in history, and to a hundred such accidents of war as this: that for want of some trusses of fodder for mules, the mules were lost, and the siege train did not arrive; and after five ineffectual attempts to carry Burgos by assault, in October and November, 1812, he failed for want of the siege train, and was compelled to retreat with a partially disorganized army, two hundred miles. Read how fraudulent contractors for entrenching tools, and for soldiers' shoes and other equipments of war, delayed Wellington's campaigns, and reduced his plans of strategy, and the indomitable courage of his troops to a nullity, not once only, but year after year. And yet the arrogant writers in some of our home and colonial newspapers, rail at the United States and aggravate them to anger against Canada, by asserting suspension of cash payments to be American repudiation, though Britain suspended cash payments from 1797 to 1820; by also asserting every misadventure in war, and dishonesty in army and navy contractors, as peculiar to the American people. Whereas we know from sad experience that contractors for our armies are as incorrigible in Britain as in America.

CHAPTER IV.

City of Ogdensburgh Scheme of Invasion "to strike at the Vitals of Canada."—Object of a New York Scheme of Invasion to "cut Canada adrift," and destroy the British Aristocracy in "the flames of revolution," Napoleon III. "to ride the whirlwind."—Popular fallacies about the British Aristocracy.—Earl of Derby, leader of British Conservatives; his esteem for the United States when Colonial Secretary in 1833.—Items about Aristocracy in Canada.—Dignity of the Legislative Council.—Eloquent Members of the House of Assembly.—Change of Ministry in Canada, May, 1862.

Having glanced at Plans and Places of Defence, on the American side, as recommended to Congress, I now select two or three items from influential, though unofficial writers, as to how and for what purpose the States may invade Canada.

1.—**OGDENSBURGH PLAN OF INVASION.**—The following was published in that city in February, 1862:—"We have two railroads terminating here. One piercing that great avenue the New York Central, from which branch off in all directions, west and south, other railroads that bring this place within a few hours reach of those extremes of our country. The other leads to that great net-work of New England railroads, which traverse almost every town and village within her territory. Besides these we have water communication, by means of the St. Lawrence, directly with Lake Ontario, and with the exception of a short break between Lake Erie, for which a railroad is substituted, with all the States lying west of us to the waters of the Mississippi. So far then as accessibility and convenience for collecting the material of war is concerned, it possesses advantages equal in any degree to those of any other town or village upon our Northern frontier.

But these advantages, although great, are not to be compared in importance with those we possess from our being within such short striking distance of the very vitals of Canada. At this place the St. Lawrence is about a mile in width, and under cover of the guns from the fort we propose, the troops who accumulated here could easily be transported to the other shore. Once then in the seige the terminus of the Ottawa and Prescott railroad, leading to the capital of the Canadas, and whose depot is immediately on the shore of the river, and a short quarter of a mile back we tap that great artery of the Canadas, through which their very life-blood flows, the Grand Trunk railroad. The communication between the two provinces being cut off by the St. Lawrence river and the Grand Trunk railroad, but one other of very little practical importance exists—that by means of the Rideau Canal, at Ottawa, and from thence to Kingston. If this also be desired to be taken, we are only within fifty-five miles of Ottawa city—the entrance to the canal from the Ottawa river. The chain of locks at that place, once destroyed, would require quite a lengthy campaign in which to effect their replacement.

The brief statement of facts must show, we think, that Ogdensburg is the key that not only locks out the entrance from the sea, but also unlocks to us the defences of a neighbour who may need ere long some correction for growing misconduct. Her chief power, the protection of England,

would be most effectually cut off, and the whole of the Upper Province would be obliged to bear the brunt of our arms single-handed and alone. The result of such a combat needs no prophet to foretell."

Ogdensburgh is a city in the State of New York, containing about 20,000 inhabitants, situated opposite to our small town of Prescott, whose population is 2,551. The head of the St. Lawrence Canals is seven miles below Prescott. Montreal city is distant ninety miles, East; and Ottawa city fifty-five miles North. The merchants of Ogdensburgh are largely interested in the Ottawa lumber trade; several having saw-mills, barrel stave factories, and other works, on the Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada. Should the invaders, for a time occupy the new Parliament Buildings at Ottawa city, they will find that the hewn stone of those remote palaces, came from Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, and has been paid for; and that the freight was also paid to their own ship-owners. When I visited Ogdensburgh, at the end of July, 1861, its busy wharves, saw-mills, flour-mills, tanneries, foundries, furniture factories, and vast lumber trade; its large commerce in wheat and flour, extending from Chicago and the far West, as also from ports in Canada West, to Boston and New York, and to Montreal in Canada East; its lofty warehouses, and spacious streets, all pleased the stranger. The dwelling-houses embowered in foliage, and some in floral luxuriance, more abundant than I had beheld within the limits of a city, had a charm which was almost enchantment. A thought of that busy and beautiful dwelling-place of happy contentment becoming antagonistic to Canada did not once occur to disturb the visions of peaceful prosperity.

II.—POPULAR FALLACIES ABOUT BRITISH MONARCHY AND ARISTOCRACY.

Canada is to be "cut adrift," and the "flames of revolution to be kindled in England;" it seems to do both of them good. From a thousand such flashes of the American newspapers in response to journals, British and Canadian, as absurd and less excusable, [the latter wholly inexcusable, as the war in America is not their war; nor the responsibilities of American Government theirs; nor the American nationality theirs,] the following is selected as a fair specimen of the whole, and as a text for a brief commentary on popular fallacies about British Monarchy and Aristocracy:—

"The energy of the United States in organizing an invincible army and an impregnable navy, the grand results already achieved and to be hereafter achieved by the war, will demonstrate the strength of the republic and the stability and permanence of democratic institutions; and the

result in Europe, combined with the distress arising from the injury inflicted by the war on the commercial and manufacturing interests, will be to give a grand impetus to the cause of democracy, and to re-ignite the flames of revolution. Napoleon will probably save himself by riding upon the whirlwind and directing the storm. But the British oligarchy are doomed, and the people will throw off their yoke forever, as the French people long since have done in the case of their nobility. The French Revolution is yet to be finished in England. In that day her aristocracy will call upon the United States for help; but they will call in vain. So far from giving them aid and comfort, we will commend to their own lips the poisoned chalice they lately presented to ours; and not only will the independence of Mexico be maintained, and Canada cut loose from the sinking old hulk of the British empire, and every island in the West Indies which now owns English sway be set free to choose its own destiny, but the white slaves of England, Scotland and Ireland will be redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the genius of universal emancipation."—*New York Herald*, March 27, 1862.

This subject involves a common error demanding serious treatment. I select from previous works a few passages published when the question presented no such frowning aspects as now, and was not under discussion, except in my personal retrospect of popular connections in Britain, in a book written at Quebec in 1859, published at Montreal, 1860; therefore, not fashioned in argument for this occasion. The work is entitled *Somerville's Diligent Life in the service of Public Safety in Britain*, and the introduction opens the subject now presented to us by the American press, thus:—

“This book treats of the logic of revolutions, and insists that in nations where the displaced roots and branches of political power remain, and must of necessity remain, after a revolution, as in France and in Britain, they retain vitality, and may return to their place by the force of laws abundantly dispersed through human nature and accomplish a result inexorable as destiny. That result is military despotism. A crushed monarchy and aristocracy, with all the sympathies and adherences of their misfortune, can only be suppressed by a vehement and gloomy tyranny. And if they arise out of the trodden roadway of rebellion, as very likely they may, from the popular abhorrence which sets in against the power that is dancing or preaching on their grave, they, in turn, by the logic of necessity, cut down, hack, crush, and grind into the offended

earth that rebellion, which, for a while was uppermost, and which by the pressure now above it, may spring to life again.

"The war of independence in the United States affords no contradiction to this dogma of conservative science. Those great colonial provinces separated themselves from a monarchy and government seated four thousand miles away. The rejected servants of the distant monarchy packed their apparel and goods and travelled to Canada, or returned to England, or fled and left their all.

"This book exemplifies the expansive vitality of British institutions, guarding the examples, however, by the qualification that the aristocratic element in those institutions seems to be only workable in the nation where it is a natural growth out of old feudalism. The voluntary surrender of some portion of personal liberty, as in Britain, is the true sign and substance of freedom anywhere. The races and nations who surrender no impulse of personal freedom, for the common advantage, have a political horizon always contracted to their short sight; revolt or revolution lying just beyond it; a central despotism pressing them onward, and over that line of vision, into the darkness of chaos and chance.

"This book asserts that the human being is prime constituent of public wealth; and that the guardianship of human happiness is the true function of any Political Economy worthy of being called a conservative science. In the examples of the expansive vitality of British institutions the pleasing, grand, yet to many readers the paradoxical and doubtful fact will be established, that the hereditary house of Legislature and highest court of justice in Britain, the House of Lords, is now the most vigilant guardian of human rights and progressive leader of popular freedom existing in the world. And more, while it is further removed from the friction of sordid conflict and electoral collusion, than the House of Commons in Britain, or the elected Legislatures of the British colonies, and of the United States, it is more severely though not so immediately responsible to public opinion than any of these. The candidate for a seat in a representative assembly may by interchange of corruption, or by observance of virtue and honour, lose his election, or he may secure it. His responsibility to public opinion is comprised in love of political life and chances of re-election. The representative assembly is an aggregation of political atoms like himself. No other kind of legislature is practicable in new communities. To endow an assembly of new nobles with large territory, titles, and hereditary functions of privilege to legislate for a new country, would be a farce, partaking so largely of insanity, that no practical people

have proposed it. Yet such a House of Legislature would be more submissive to the public which made it, and which by revolt might destroy it, than is any assembly subject to dissolution and re-election. The political representative may miss his re-election, but he looks forward to the next vacancy to be restored to the lost position. The new house of hereditaries would lose territory, title and power. Hence, to retain power they would be degraded to despicable servitude, without as much independence as might protect their honour, they would be devoid of influence and every useful adjunct of authority.

“The Monarchy and House of Lords, in Britain are portions of one institution. They inherit together the traditions of chivalry, and privileges of honour which all mankind admire in some form; either as tomahawks and human scalps, as blue ribbands and stars, as buttonless coats and broad-brimmed hats, the glitter of martial uniform or the ostentation of humility. British monarchy and aristocracy have antecedents of dignity which are a heritage of independence. Yet having inexpressibly more to lose if extinguished in revolution, than the members of a representative assembly can lose by missing re-election for a year or term of years, they are obedient to the logic of history and contemporary events. Since a few of their number leading a majority of the whole, perilled the existence of the whole order, the trembling throne, and the relations of society, and constitutional liberty itself, in 1832, they do not prolong resistance to such consolidated public opinion as assumes the force and dimensions of national will. They are responsible in the heaviest bonds ever conceded to public opinion. Their revenues are larger, their estates,—they being ground landlords to a great manufacturing and commercial nation,—more promising of future wealth, their traditions grander, their functions more exalted, their present enjoyments more abundant and refined than were ever before inherited by aristocracy. Those are their bonds of responsibility to the people. No House of Representatives in all this world shares such a reciprocity of confidence with democracy. And the British Lords possess, as a legislative house, a moral attribute which the elected representatives of democracy cannot collectively exercise, however amiable and generous they may be as individual men, thus:

“Industrial progression being the life of new communities, and of the democracy in old ones, capital is the life of industrial and mercantile enterprise. Capital, though its achievements lie in the

direction of civilization and a higher human destiny, is, in some of its immediate influences cruel and cowardly; always trembling for its own safety, frequently in a panic, ever selfish and sordid if any sentiment of humanity bar its way. Democracy is led in politics by industrial progression, by the instincts and panics of capital. It is so in Britain. It is so in America. In Canada it wrests the homestead and labour of years from the owner, if an instalment remain over due. The House of Lords may not be wholly detached from those influences, but they are far enough removed from the immediate vengeance of offended capital to make terms for humanity. A catalogue of the enactments which they have initiated and which the House of Commons have in their democratic, or capitalist sections, resisted, would be out of place in this incidental glance at their relative positions. The legal decisions of the House of Lords, as the Court of last Appeal, have a dignity peculiarly their own; the option of justice always conferring on humanity and weakness the benefit of a doubt, or any item of unappropriated liberty, discovered to lie in the course of new decisions. They have ceased to be conservative by resistance, they are conservative by prescience—the guides and guardians of progress."

I select a few passages, on Canada and the United States, from speeches of the Earl of Derby, leader of the great conservative party in Britain, and head of the ancient and renowned family of Stanley:

EARL OF DERBY ON CANADA, 1828.

"The Legislative Council of Canada is the institution which especially requires revision and alteration. They have acted as paltry and impotent screens for the protection of the Governor. In all instances they have been opposed to the people. They were placed as a substitute for an aristocracy, without possessing any of the qualifications of an aristocracy, according to our notions of that body in England—imposing salutary checks and exercising a judicious vigilance over the councils of the country. * * * The Legislative Council are ranged on the side of the Government to oppress the people. They have been the root of all the evils which have disturbed Canada for the last ten or fifteen years. These complaints are not of squabbles which have sprung up in a moment, but are evils of long standing."—*Mr. Stanley, House of Commons, May 2, 1828: Now, 1862, Earl of Derby.*

And again:—"The Legislative Council is the cause of most of the evils, by constantly acting as the mere creature of the Governor for the time being. From the year 1820, to the present time, the Legislative

Council have agreed to, or refused their consent to bills, according to the varying pleasure of each successive Governor. He trusted that this would be altered and a more moderate system would be introduced."—*Mr. Stanley, House of Commons, June 5, 1829.*

EARL OF DERRY ON THE UNITED STATES, 1828.

"He would refer the House to what had passed as respected America, and it would see that after all the quarrels and bloody wars which were founded in justice on the one hand, and oppression on the other, it had risen into independence; and from the subsequent course pursued, our friendship had been continued with the United States; and every Englishman who now visited that country was received with the utmost kindness and hospitality. He trusted that if ever the situation of the Canadians was such as to induce them to separate from this Government—that before that event took place, such a course of conciliatory measures would be adopted as would keep up a lasting friendship between the two countries."—*Mr. Stanley, House of Commons, May 2, 1828.*

And again, in 1833:—"America complained that it was taxed, and oppressively taxed, without having a voice in the imposition of the taxes; that it was compelled to obey laws, in the framing of which it had no share whatever; that it was, in fact, so shackled and oppressed that it had no appeal but to force to assert its independence. It did appeal, and justice being on its side, appealed successfully."—*Mr. Stanley, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1833.*

That was the friendly language the British aristocracy held to the United States, by an eminent Minister of the Crown, now leader of the great conservative party, when the Democratic Genius of the *Herald*, who now writes of kindling flames of revolution in Britain, was but a stranger on the wharves of New York, speculating on what he should do for bread to eat in a foreign land.

LORD TAUNTON ON CANADA.

"Where society is constituted, as in Canada, any attempt on the part of Government to appoint the Legislative Council, is the merest delusion. I have ever been of opinion that the only way by which you can give to that body the weight and respectability which they ought to possess, is by introducing the principle of election."—*Mr. Labouchere, February 18, 1832; afterwards Colonial Secretary, now Lord Taunton.*

The grievances referred to in those speeches of 1828 and 1833, have been removed. No country on earth enjoys more freedom, with lighter

taxation for governmental purposes, than Canada. The stranger, in his travels, meets many people who tell him that "there is too much liberty—that liberty is destroying the country." Absurd, though such conversation be, it is supported by argument and "practical instances." It was my privilege, during a quarter of a century, to be an occasional spectator in the Houses of Lords and Commons in England. More recently I have studied, somewhat closely, the Legislative Council, House of Assembly, and their Committees at Quebec. In dignity and quiet business-like procedure the Upper House of Canada compares favourably with the House of Lords; though in high debate it has no Derby, Brougham, Lyndhurst, Grey, Granville, Lansdowne, Russell, Malmsbury, St. Leonards, Chelmsford, Bishop of Oxford, nor Shaftesbury. The most noticeable difference to the eye, apart from the understanding, is that the Lords of the Canadas are more precisely fashionable and finically dressed than their elder brethren, the British aristocracy; and though some may have been rolling logs for a living not long ago, and others be "log rolling" now, (the phrase for assisting and being assisted in petty jobbing, and in getting little bits of plunder,) all are more haughty in their manners—as indeed the proud democracy of America are, than our Dukes and Earls with a noble lineage of seven centuries. The House of Assembly is more animated, and at times tending to be boisterous. In many of its members, French, Irish, English, Scotch, it is an intellectual power; in some, it is eloquent. It has members, though perhaps not many, equal in business application and in oratory to any one lower than Lord Palmerston in the British House of Commons. In the Session of 1860, I listened to a debate between Mr. Galt, Minister of Finance, and Mr. George Brown, of Toronto, then leader of the Opposition, which occupied several hours, the House being in Committee. The subject was of vital importance to Canada; it relating to public revenue, debt, rates of interest, railway loans, bonds, and taxes in general. On entering the gallery few people were present, and all who came in went away when the door-keeper told what was the subject of debate. When I inquired what was before the House, and who was speaking, (not seeing Mr. Galt, and not then knowing his voice,) the man replied, "nothing particular; only Mr. Galt and Mr. Brown *jawing away* about taxes or something of that sort." For readiness of complex mental calculations, made on the instant of utterance, and replied to in equal terms of intricacy and fluency, that debate, had it occurred in the House of Commons, would have covered the two men with fame. But only some shreds of it were reported; nor did I hear it again spoken of. The Mac-

donalds and Camerons—descendants of Glencoe and Lochiel, are leading men in the Assembly. John A. Macdonald, member for Kingston city, and his Lower Canada chief, M. Cartier, both able tacticians and eloquent, but accused of many things not excusable in statesmen, have just retired from office, May 23, 1862, having been defeated on their Militia Bill, (of which, and the frontier defences, hereafter,) Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, an eminent barrister, member for Cornwall, a town at the mouth of the St. Lawrence Canals, in the County of Stormont, (much in want of defences if any place be,) is now Premier of the Upper Canada half of the Ministry. Joined with him is Mr. Sicotte, a distinguished intellectual gentleman, of French origin, member for the town of St. Hyacinthe, in Lower Canada. Their colleagues are said to be all able men. But what they are to do to defend the Province, pledged as they are, by votes against the Militia Bill of the late Ministry, and against a real military defensive force, instead of one existing mainly on paper, is a problem incomprehensible. It may be invidious to select names as eminent; but as the new President of the Council is the only member of either House, who, out of Parliament, so far as I know, has taken the Conservative ground which I am more feebly occupying in this work, to soften down asperities and preserve peace and friendly intercourse between Canada and the United States, I may name him; and assert that in the true eloquence which is at once poetical and ratiocinative; quiet in its depths and irresistibly charming; the utterance of great research in reading, and of analytical thinking, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, one of the members for Montreal city, is not surpassed in Britain or elsewhere, in any of the arenas where intellectual giants assemble. John Hillyard Cameron, Q. C., member for the County of Peel, stands at the head of the Upper Canada bar, and is honoured with the confidence of the greatest political confederacy in the Province, as Grand Master of the Orange Lodges. He is the coming man when a change of Ministry takes place in the direction of high conservatism.

CHAPTER V.

On the uses of Military History.

From several of my contributions to American and Canadian newspapers, written on behalf of peace and good will, and the truthful uses of history, I select two, which were published before any of the great victories of the National army were achieved. The reference in the first letter to the battle of Talavera, fought 27th and 28th September, 1809, suggests a remark on the battle of Pittsburgh, fought near Corinth, Tennessee, April 6th and 7th, 1862. Many of the incidents, and the final results were the same. So also the heroism of the armies engaged on both sides and in both battles. Oh, that Beauregard and the Confederates were fighting in a good cause, and were not rebels!

LETTER ON INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP.

To the Editor of the Detroit Free Press.

SIR.—If British military history had no higher use than to amuse the reader, by its pictures of past times, it would matter little whether it came to us in shape of the historical romances of the author of *Waverley*, or of the sternly true, yet not less graphic narratives of General Sir William Napier, historian of the Peninsular War. But history should be instructive. To be instructive, it should be written impartially and read with a discerning judgment.

At no time since Napier's history was published has it been more desirable than now, that my countrymen in Britain and Canada—especially the journalists who sneer at the military operations of the army of the United States—should read and practically digest that work. Nor should they omit the dispatches and letters of the great Duke of Wellington, commander-in-chief in the Peninsular War. From both of those treasuries of military experiences I make quotations. The extracts may be usefully read also by those journalists of the United States who clamor about the inactivity of the army on the Potomac, the army which was at St. Louis under Fremont, and about the partial failure of some of the sea-going and river expeditions.

We British do not readily forget the grand passages in Napier, descriptive of the gallantry of our soldiers, and heroism of some of their leaders; such as his account of the battle of Albuhera, marvelous for its

power of word-painting, or that famous and often quoted passage in the description of the field of Talavera, beginning, "See, how the British soldier fights," in which he depicts the solid tread of the regiments newly arrived on the battle-ground as they marched in steady columns through the disordered fragments of other British regiments and retrieved the fortunes of the day for Sir Arthur Wellesley—the fortunes of that day bringing to him the title of Lord Wellington of Talavera.

We do not readily forget those gratifying incidents, nor the hundreds of others like them, which occurred during the long war with the French, beginning in 1793, with three years of disaster to the British in Holland, and closing on the plains of Waterloo, in 1815, with a victory which in its consequences stands unequalled in modern times. But we are too ready to forget, looking into our past military history through a galaxy of victories, that we had many difficulties, some defeats, some retreats, several panics and occasional misadventures which Napier calls "shameful," and Wellington in his orders of the day styled "disgraceful."

While I write, there lies before me an elaborate memoir, in six volumes, of the life and campaigns of the Duke of Wellington, by a "companion in arms" (Colonel Williams.) In it I do not find a word or allusion to the event which Napier describes as having occurred at Salinas two nights before the battle of Talavera, the night of the 25th of September, 1809. Nor does Allison name it in his in-exact history. A division of the British army were seized with panic; they ran hither and thither in the woods, not knowing where to go, nor what was the cause of alarm. Nor is there any allusion to the fact which Napier styled shameful and Wellington disgraceful, that the division which was hastening forward by forced marches to Talavera, on the first day of the battle, September 27th, and which arrived in solid columns to turn the tide of battle, as already noted, on the 28th, was met by bands of fugitives, Spaniards, Portuguese, and British, among whom Napier says that, to the shame of the army, were several British officers, who reported that the battle was lost, Sir Arthur Wellesley killed, and the whole army in retreat.

The writer of the *Life and Campaigns*, felt it necessary, however, to speak more freely of the cowardice of the Spaniards at Talavera. Among other passages of censure we have this:

During the night, between the 27th and 28th, another unaccountable panic took hold of the Spanish army. Alarmed by some noise, they thought the French had entered their unassailable intrenchments. They poured forth a roll of musketry along their whole line, and immediately

three battalions, alarmed at their own noise, took to their heels. The idle noise was taken up by some of the inexperienced battalions of the British army, drafts from the militia, and the consequence was, they shot several of their own officers and men, who were at the outposts.

General Napier, as well as Colonel Williams, just quoted, ascribes that and other misadventures to "young regiments drafted from the militia." But the militia in Britain, in those days, was a permanent force, well drilled, and accustomed to garrison and camp duty.

If the excuse be admissible, that those young regiments, not always reliable on the field of battle, were drawn from the militia, does it not become the dignity which British journalists should assume, to treat the young and inexperienced army of the United States with forbearance, if they had one or two misadventures? Do they not rather claim our sympathy, engaged as they are in suppressing a formidable rebellion? I, as a British conservative, who am devoted to the integrity of the British empire and proud of my nationality, have never called, and can never call, this calamity in the United States by any name but a rebellion against legitimate authority—a revolt against the constitution and the laws. The perversity of reason or unreason, by which writers of the conservative parties in Britain and in Canada sympathize with rebels and with a rebellion raised for objects the most unholy, and without any threat having been made by the Federal Government against the South before the insurgents appeared in arms, is a paradox in political logic wholly inexplicable. The estrangement of friendly sentiments between Britain, Canada and the United States, by the irritating commentaries of our newspaper press, is unworthy of any persons or classes calling themselves conservatives. Let me revert to our own military history.

The following general order of the Duke of Wellington, issued soon after the retreat from Burgos, in November, 1812, may be read with advantage by all who desire to know the value of military discipline, and particularly by those who forget that Wellington had difficulties—not with volunteers and militia recently levied, but with an army which had been drilled in barrack yards at home, and had been from three to four years under his own command before an enemy:—"Nov. 28th, 1812.—Gentlemen, I must draw your attention, in a very particular manner, to the state of discipline of the troops. The discipline of every army, after a long and active campaign, becomes in some degree relaxed, and requires the utmost attention, on the part of the General and other officers, to bring it back to the state in which it ought to be for service; but I am

concerned to have to observe that the army under my command has fallen off in this respect in the late campaign, *to a greater degree than any army with which I have ever served, or of which I have ever read.* Yet this army has met with no disaster; it has suffered no privations which but trifling attention on the part of the officers could have prevented, and for which there existed no reason whatever in the nature of the service; nor has it suffered any hardships excepting those resulting from the necessity of being exposed to the inclemencies of the weather.

It must be obvious, however, to every officer, that from the moment the troops commenced the retreat from the neighbourhood of Burgos, on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, *the officers lost all command over their men.* Irregularities, and outrages of all descriptions, were committed with impunity, and losses have been sustained which ought never to have occurred. Yet the necessity for retreat existing, none were ever made on which the troops had such short marches; none on which they made such long and repeated halts, and none on which the retreating armies were so little pressed on their rear by the enemy.

We must look, therefore, for the existing evils and for the situation in which we now find the army, to some causes besides those resulting from the operations in which we have been engaged.

I have no hesitation in attributing these evils to the habitual inattention of the officers of regiments to their duty, as prescribed by the standing regulations of the service, and by the orders of this army."

I shall only add another paragraph about Wellington's difficulties for the present. The records of debates in the British Parliament for the years 1809-'10-'11 and 1812, as also the files of newspapers printed in those years, show that he was incessantly assailed by the opposition statesmen and journals with charges of incapacity, blunders in strategy, and with culpable inactivity. The United States army was ridiculed for its inactivity by my countrymen, British and Canadian journalists, before it had been three months in the field, and when it must have been almost wholly an undisciplined multitude. Yet the charges of inactivity against the great Duke of Wellington continued, and motions were made in Parliament demanding his recall, until the battle of Vittoria, July, 1813, when he had been four years uninterruptedly in command of an army drilled, first at home, and afterwards trained by himself. Napier places it on record that, towards the close of 1810, a Cabinet Minister, with whom Wellington had corresponded on friendly, as well as official terms, urged him to fight a battle somewhere, "anywhere, so as blood was shed ;

for the impatient multitudes without doors and the formidable opposition in Parliament, could not be controlled without it; they must have a battle or the Ministry would be broken up by popular clamor," and so forth. Napier does not name that Cabinet Minister, (though I might name him were it not that an illustrious relative has earned a title to fame as the Minister of Mercy in the East Indies,) but says that Wellington never afterwards held intercourse with him, except in the most cold and formal way, and only then when intercourse was unavoidable.

The object in adducing such incidents and others which may appear hereafter, is to remind my countrymen, should this letter be re-printed in Canadian and British newspapers, that Britain has had military difficulties; and to urge that the United States, in this the day of trial and political calamity, deserves their sympathy and moral support, and not their arrogant sarcasm. It is but worthy of school-boys, and only the rudest of them, to revile and justify the iteration of reproach, by one party saying, "did they not call us bad names first?" and the other, "was it not you who called us bad names first?" and then, if not hindered, to go to fight upon the issue of who were the first to call the other bad names?

And such a conflict! The mutual devastation of two thousand miles on one side of the boundary line, and as many on the other; four thousand miles in all, as between Canada and the States, each side covered with commercial cities, busy market towns, lovely villages, and happy homesteads; not half of the rural male population caring a straw about the raving of sensation and incendiary newspapers; the entire population of unpolitical women and innocent children, now living happily on both sides of the line, being wholly ignorant of that day of doom which angry journalists are hastening forward for their starvation, ruin, death, or worse than death—wholly ignorant that such a day may come.

During the greater part of four years, and the whole of the last two, I have travelled through all parts of Canada and along the frontiers of the United States, collecting information for a history of the "Industrial Progress of Canada," and for the "Family Annals of Early Settlers." These works are intended to embrace the elements of international amity, commercial and social, which now exist between Canada and the States, and which should secure their perpetual peace and friendship. I am now at Windsor, C. W., opposite Detroit, and will presently be in that city to extend my collection of facts about international commerce, gathered when

there on two previous visits in 1861. I reserve a description of the trade on the frontiers for other letters.

ALEXANDER SOMERVILLE,
Formerly known in England as "one who has whistled at the plough."
MILITARY AND NAVAL EXPEDITIONS; CAUTION TO MY BRITISH
COUNTRYMEN.

To the Editor of the Detroit Advertiser.

WINDSOR, January, 1862.

Sir,—The struggle in which the United States are engaged, to suppress a fratricidal rebellion, which has less to justify it than any political revolt known in history, demands the sympathy of all reflective men; especially of British and Canadian Conservatives, whose leading principle is to maintain the integrity of Britain, and frown at rebellion and rebels wherever they may rise in revolt against governments founded on free institutions.

The undignified, unkind, blindly mischievous position taken by many writers in British newspapers, in tauntingly sneering at, and misrepresenting the few mis-adventures which have befallen the young and inexperienced army of the United States, is an offence to all experienced soldiers who, like the present writer, know what practical military service is. To the natives of Britain, who have studied military history, the reproaches of hostility to the United States which those writers indulge in, should be doubly offensive. They bring painfully to mind our own mis-adventures. In the hope that I may induce my countrymen and brothers of the pen to be more courteous to a great nation convulsed by intestine war, I shall here draw their notice to a few of the mixed military and naval expeditions, sent on service during the long war with France, beginning in 1793, and closing in 1815.

British Expedition of 245 vessels of war, 400 transports and 100,000 men, to close the navigation of the Scheldt, at Antwerp, in the year 1809.

In this narrative I prefer to follow, word for word, the author of the "Life and Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington." It will be seen that whether by a "stone fleet," or other sunken impediments to navigation, one of the objects of the expedition was to render the Scheldt unnavigable at Antwerp. Says the "companion in arms" of the Duke:

"While the English army in the Peninsula (commanded by Wellington) was paralyzed for want of the sinews of war—men and money—by the incapacity of Castlereagh and the intrigues of Canning, two expedi-

tions, one to Walcheren and the other to Sicily, were planned and undertaken by the Cabinet of Great Britain. The capture or destruction of the enemy's ships, either building at Antwerp and Flushing, or afloat in the Scheldt; the destruction of the dock-yards and arsenals of Antwerp and Flushing; and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war was the object.

The armament destined for the Scheldt was the largest and most complete that had ever left the British shores. Its preparation commenced from the beginning of the month of May. In July, a fleet assembled in the Downs, consisting of thirty-nine sail of the line, thirty-six frigates, and a proportionate number of gun-boats, bomb-vessels, and smaller craft; in all two hundred and forty-five vessels of war, accompanied by about four hundred sail of transports, carrying nearly forty thousand troops, and on the 28th of the same month, it set sail for its destination. The imposing magnificence of this mighty force, forming, together with seamen and marines, a sum total of one hundred thousand men, attracted thousands of spectators. In the course of the next day the fleet was off the Dutch coast, but it being not sufficiently provided with boats for landing the troops, ordnance, &c., Flushing was not invested until the 2d of August, and the operations were then so slow that the batteries were not ready for near a fortnight, so as to commence an effectual bombardment." Flushing having surrendered, Lord Chatham then talked of advancing on Antwerp, of capturing that fortress and the ships of war in its harbour; but while he was pausing and pondering for nearly another fortnight, a large force was collected to oppose him.

The end is thus described: "Here ended the Walcheren expedition, which cost the nation twenty millions sterling in money, and ten thousand of her best troops. The only trophies of that memorable exploit were a frigate, and the timbers of a seventy-four. Incapacity, and in some instances the want of common honesty and humanity, marked the proceedings of all the prominent persons connected with this ill-fated expedition."

It would have been to the advantage of international amity if Mr. Russell, of the *Times*, had seen and described the actual battle of *Manasses* *alias* *Bull's Run*, which, while it lasted, was a valiant conflict, carried on by troops, on the Government side, famishing for want of water and food, and unsupported by the necessary adjuncts of a campaign, all difficulties caused by a too early advance without the means of transport, and all aggravated by the battle occurring in a thickly wooded country.

Killed and wounded at Bull Run, 18 per cent of all engaged, in five hours. Killed and wounded at Waterloo, 24 per cent of all engaged, of British and Allies, in twelve hours. The defeated veterans ran six times farther from Waterloo, than the defeated troops at Bull Run.

Truths about Battles—Wellington and Waterloo.—Generals in command can only, at best, make a guess at the incidents of battle. Civilian correspondents, viewing the smoke from afar, can tell nothing but by hearsay. Nor do Generals find it desirable to publish all occurrences in their despatches. A historian having applied to Wellington for a full account of Waterloo, that he might exactly describe it, the great General replied as follows:—"You cannot write a true history of the battle without including the faults and misbehavior of part of those who were engaged, and whose faults and misbehavior were the cause of material losses. *Believe me, that every man you see in a military uniform is not a hero*; and that although in the account given of a general action, such as that of Waterloo, many instances of individual heroism must be passed over unrelated, it is better for the general interests to leave those parts of the story untold than to tell the whole truth. WELLINGTON."

Victory is not always a certainty even with the ablest Generals in command of the best troops. Many unreflective admirers of Wellington, military men as well as civilians, have asserted that he never engaged in battle but with the certainty of success. He has himself affirmed the contrary, and what he said should be treasured as words of caution to overconfident officers in command of armies or detachments. Writing to Sir Charles Stuart, British Envoy at Lisbon, in March, 1811, previous to a new campaign, he said:—"I have but little doubt of success; but as I have fought a sufficient number of battles to know that the result of any one of them was not certain, even with the best arrangements, I am anxious that the Government should adopt preparatory arrangements, and take out of the enemy's way those persons and their families who would suffer if they were to fall into the enemy's hands."

Wellington on Religion in the Army.—During a lengthened time of inaction in the winter of 1810-'11, religious meetings were organized in the cantonments of the British army, chiefly by non-commissioned officers and privates who had before been Methodists, and by Scotch and Irish Presbyterians. The Guards had a Sergeant Stephens, who preached, or read sermons and sang Psalms. The 9th Foot had meetings for worship, at which many attended, including two officers. It was alleged that polemical discussions were introduced, hostile to the established church of

England; and by some of the Generals of Brigade and Generals of Division, the whole of the religious assemblies were pronounced to be irregular, unsoldierly and subversive of good discipline. They appealed to Wellington for authority to suppress them. That true soldier and true man replied:—"The meeting of soldiers in their cantonments, to sing Psalms, or to hear a sermon read by one of their comrades, is in the abstract perfectly innocent, and is a better way of spending their time than many others to which they are addicted, though it may become otherwise. Religious instruction is the greatest support and aid to military discipline and order."

English Newspapers.—General Napier, in his History of the Peninsular War, reverts again and again in bitter reproaches, to the wrong done to the army by the English newspaper press. First, as a mere speculation to sell papers, the editors published "accounts of battles which were never fought," of "marches and expeditions that were never contemplated," of "plans of campaigns and sieges that existed only in the fertile brains of their correspondents." But an evil inexpressibly greater was this, that they did at times get hold of the plans of campaigns, of contemplated sieges, and important expeditions, which being published in London, were instantly carried to Paris, and transmitted by flying couriers to the French Generals in front of Wellington's army in Spain or Portugal. In like manner the Russians obtained information of the positions of British and French forces in the Crimea, and the plans of attack on Sebastopol in 1854-55. In like manner do the rebels, in arms against the legitimate government of the United States, obtain information of the plans of campaigns and expeditions of the Federal army in America, in 1861-'62. The "companion in arms" of the Duke, writing of the Opposition newspapers in Britain, says of their unmilitary attitude in 1810-'11:—"Their unnatural and unpatriotic attempts to break and humiliate the bearing and spirit of the soldiery, and depreciate the military character of Britain, were deemed by Bonaparte so admirably adapted to reconcile the French nation to the unpopularity of his Spanish war, and to prove the incapability of England to contend with him, that he caused the various papers containing the heartless and disgraceful calumnies to be printed at the imperial press and circulated throughout France and the states subject to his control and influence. From the same sources, also, of disaffection and treachery, the French Generals derived better information of the position and resources of the English army, and the intended operations of the English General, than they were able to obtain by the agencies of their

spies, and the traitorous hidalgos, or nobles, who conspired with them, for the enslavement of their country."—*Life and Campaigns*, p. 176.

Wellington, writing to the Earl of Liverpool, 23d January, 1811, said: "I enclose a newspaper, giving an account of our works; the number of men and guns in each, and for what purpose constructed. Surely it must be admitted that those who carry on operations against an enemy, possessed of all the information which our newspapers give to the French, do so under singular disadvantages."

The day on which the foregoing is transcribed for present use, February 14, 1862, brings American newspapers, in some of which is the following paragraph: "The expedition on the Savannah river amounted to nothing after all. The letters of correspondents of the press having frustrated some of the plans of Commodore Dupont, no steamer will hereafter be allowed to leave for the North until his plans are perfected."

Three Armies and their Generals run from one another.—Wellington had given Sir John Murray instructions in writing, comprehensive and minute. He was to attack the fortress of Tarragona, in order to draw General Suchet from Valencia to its aid. Then he was to embark his troops and siege train, and sailing to Valencia, take it by surprise before Suchet could return over the difficult mountain paths to oppose him. Tarragona was accordingly invested; but Murray advanced inland to meet Suchet in battle, leaving his second in command, General Clinton, to carry the fortress of Tarragona by storm the same night. But a report came that another French General, Mathieu, was advancing in force to unite with Suchet. Thereupon Sir John Murray retired hastily to Tarragona, and repeated the orders for the assault. The storming party was formed and ready to advance, but Murray countermanded his order, and against the earnest remonstrances of his officers, directed that the batteries should be dismounted and the siege abandoned. Writing to the War Minister, Wellington said: "I entertained a very high opinion of his talents; but he always seemed to me to want what is better than great talents, sound sense. The best of the story is that all parties ran away; General Mathieu ran away; Sir John Murray ran away, and so did Suchet." Nothing in the varying phases of the war in America has suggested a theme for ridicule like that depicted by the Duke of Wellington. In that run of Sir John Murray, the "time-honoured siege train that had battered the walls of Badajos was lost." Three Generals and their armies, all brave in battle, even to a fault, reckless at other times, took a sudden panic and ran, one east, one south, and one westward, out to sea.

Wellington a Corn Merchant.—If the American Commander-in-chief could only keep his troops alive and hold them together, by hiring ships to go many thousands of miles into the outer world for grain to feed them, and that without the sanction of his government, which did not otherwise provide for them, there would be a theme fruitful of "sarcastic editorials" from England about the Army of the Potomac. The American Continent is overflowing with grain. At the opening of navigation, April, 1862, fourteen million bushels, or the equivalent in flour, awaited shipment at Lake ports; and two and a half million bushels in Canada. Indian Corn had been burned for fuel in the Western States, though close to railways, for want of buyers. To provide for the emergency which the British Government was financially unequal to meet, Wellington had recourse to an expedient which exemplifies that true military genius will be found in alliance with an aptitude to acquire knowledge of things non-military. He freighted ships, and by a paper money of his own, drafts at four or six months on the British treasury, made purchases of grain in the Brazils, America, and Egypt, by which he not only fed the army, and saved the people of Portugal from starvation, during a year of invasion and another of famine, but replenished the military chest with large sums of money. English merchants and army contractors decried that mercantile operation and, Tories as most of them were, alarmed the Tory ministry. The Whig opposition, because Wellington had infringed the abstract laws of Political Economy, also assailed him and the Government. The Ministry desired him to desist. He replied in a despatch, showing the necessity of his mercantile operations, and continued them. It was then he encountered an Enemy more formidable than the Emperor or Marshals of France in battle—that was

Nathan Meyer Rothschild.—Having bought the Duke of Wellington's bills at a discount, [Francis' Hist. Stock Exchange,] his next operation was to buy the gold which was necessary to pay them, and, when he had purchased it, he was as he expected, informed that the government required it. Government had it, and paid for the accommodation. "It was the best business I ever did," he exclaimed; "for, when the Government had got it, it was of no service to them until I had undertaken to convey it to Portugal." He had first, through his agents, depreciated the value of the bills in America, Brazil, and Egypt, where Wellington's ships had gone for grain. As also among the Portuguese and Spanish peasantry who sold country produce, or performed services to the army. Having depreciated the bills, they were purchased and held by his agents abroad;

and instead of being sent to London to be paid, he caused himself to be paid for carrying the gold abroad to redeem them from his own clerks.

The *New York Herald* need not trouble itself to "kindle the flames of revolution in Britain to destroy the Landed aristocracy; nor raise a whirlwind for Napoleon III. to ride upon and direct the storm," under pretence of giving Britain more freedom. There is an Aristocracy and Priesthood—their Thrones and Altars on the Paris Bourse; and in Capel Court, London; and in Wall Street, New York, with emissaries of intrigue scattered throughout the world. They may be regenerated with advantage. They subvert honest commerce; make personal traffic of public interests; strike death into the industrial life of States; usurp political authority through their banks and financial conspiracies; disturb the peace of nations; breed commercial panics; mock human suffering; paralyze the motions of armies; infuse into public departments the instincts of fraud; break blockades and defy the policy of wise and good statesmen to accomplish peace in time of war;—these abound alike in Republics and in Monarchies.

In January, 1862, a *Bank Note Reporter*, published at Detroit, "beared" the market against the banks of Canada. It asserted that two millions of dollars of Canada money were circulated in the State of Michigan, and cautioned farmers and all others, having produce to sell, to reject such paper. Those bills were collected at a discount and carried in quantities to the office of the money broker in Detroit. Then they were taken to Canada and presented at the banks for gold at their full value. The gold was carried to New York and sold at from two to three per cent. premium. Those internal enemies of nations, the riggers of money markets, are not the British Aristocracy.

Wellington's advice about Invasion—I conclude with the wise counsel he addressed to the people of Portugal: "All men capable of carrying arms should learn their use. When the enemy approaches, let women and helpless persons be removed to places of safety. Let all persons possessing treasure bury it; each burying his own, unseen by his neighbour."

Extract from Notes of Travels in Canada West, by Alexander Somerville.

EDWARDSBURGH, County of Grenville, C. W., July, 1861.

Below Prescott nine miles, at foot of the Gallops Rapids, on upper section of the St. Lawrence Canal, the grandly flowing River, two miles wide, dotted with lovely islands; New York shore rising beautifully beyond; Family groups of islands; brother and sister islands; and a small baby island, carrying one sugar maple and no more. The place is named after Prince Edward, father of Queen Victoria. Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, landed here in June, 1793, and stayed a week at the house of Captain Fraser, at head of the Rapids, two miles above this, awaiting boats and escort from Kingston. The Prince was three weeks ascending the River from Montreal, [informed so by Lt. Col. Clarke, of Edwardsburgh, then a boy,] and many poor emigrants encountered such delays until quite recently. This day the Grand Trunk Railway Engines waft emigrants and all comers over the distance in four hours. From visiting the Great Eastern Steamship at Quebec, men whom I knew in Scotland thirty years ago as working ploughmen, and who came to Canada as such, were last night, with their wives and daughters, now ladies, carried along in the sleeping cars, reposing in luxury not always enjoyed by Princes in their Palaces. The Railways bestow upon farmers—give them a gift equal to 20 cents a bushel for all produce, and double price for live stock [and ready money at that, instead of long credits and trafficking the grain and cattle for goods not required] more than they obtained before the Grand Trunk, and Western Railways were built. Yet the Political Men of Canada seem insensible to this marvellous transition of the Province, now bounding onwards to affluence. The Victoria Bridge alone, enables merchants, in winter, to advance the price of the whole produce of Upper Canada from Montreal, six hundred miles West and North-west, about five cents per bushel.

The water flume from the Canal at this place might give the Starch Company nine hundred "horse power" if needed. They have ten separate central discharge wheels, working at flour-mill, saw-mill, and starch factory. A steamer from Chicago, distant 1000 miles, is this day delivering 30,000 bushels of corn; half of it to be prepared for puddings and custards; 25,000 bushels were manufactured in the last six months. Machinery occupies five floors. Processes intricate; yet all is order and cleanliness. Farina washed in filtered water twelve times; the solution passed through silk cloths, which are washed in filtered water daily. Purity and order within the works delight the visitor; and the situation outside charms, enchants him, with a mingled loveliness and grandeur surpassing anything he has yet seen on the American continent. 4,000 lbs. manufactured daily. Boxes, made at the saw-mill, hold 40 lbs. each. Many cattle feed on the refuse.

[ADVERTISEMENT.]

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